

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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### PICTURESQUE CORNER OF THREE STATES

#### A CHAPTER OF INDIAN HISTORY AND TRADITION

**P**ICTURESQUE not only in its scenery, but in its early history, is that portion of Orange county, where the Delaware winds its placid way between the mountains of New York and Pennsylvania. A little beyond the point where the beautiful river receives the tributary waters of the Neversink it turns abruptly in a southerly direction and flows onward between Pennsylvania and New Jersey toward the sea. A rocky little promontory jutting out into the confluent waters of the Neversink and the Delaware forms a part of three states—New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. It is partially submerged during the freshets, but its solid foundations will stand the swirl and wear of the floods for ages yet to come. A few feet back from high-water mark is a smooth plateau, covered with herbage and wild flowers. Here the lover of nature may recline at ease and enjoy the charming picture.

The boundary line between New York and New Jersey was for many decades the subject of hot dispute and perpetual warfare among the borderers. One of the leading actors in these well-nigh bloody dramas, was a Major Swartwout, who resided on the disputed territory. Anticipating a hostile visit from the Jersey claimants of his lands, he maintained a small arsenal in his house, keeping therein a number of guns loaded and ready for service. He also employed men sufficient not only to cultivate his farm, but to handle the guns when it should become necessary to lay aside the peaceful pruning-hook for the weapons of war. Notwithstanding all his careful preparations for defense his domicile was invaded, his family expelled, and his household goods tumbled out of doors. Calling for assistance from Goshen, he received it, and the invaders were in turn ejected; the major gathered up his "lares and penates," and once more his family assembled around the hearth-stone. The Jerseymen subsequently organ-



TRI-STATES ROCK.

ized a strong party, intending on a certain day to make a general raid "all along the line," and clean out the "Yorkers," root and branch. But the latter learned of the intended foray, and mustered in force at the house of Harmanus Van Inwegen, fully armed and equipped for war. On the approach of the enemy, the "Yorkers" marched out to the road and formed in line of battle, whereupon the invaders who had planned this little surprise, found themselves the surprised party, and their courage suddenly oozing out, they took counsel of that discretion which is the better part of valor, and wheeling, like the famous king of France, "marched down again." Their last move was to capture and imprison the major and

Captain Johannes Westbrook; knowing that any open attempt to seize them would be attended with much difficulty and some danger, they planned to do it on the Sabbath and in the very shadow of the sanctuary. To this end, on the day appointed, they assembled in force, armed with clubs, at the church of Magaghamack, and when the major and the captain came out at the close of the meeting, they were attacked and after a sharp struggle made prisoners. The major was taken to New Jersey and confined in prison, but was soon released. Not long subsequent to this event the boundary line was definitely established by officers of the United States Coast Survey, and indicated, until 1882, by a copper bolt set in the rocks. Now a granite monument marks the spot, the only work of art to mar the natural beauties of the scene. The promontory is known as the "Tri-States Rock," and is reached by a half-mile walk through a silent avenue in the beautiful cemetery of Laurel Grove, which lies between the two rivers as they gradually converge into a single stream.

This corner of Orange county was the former home of the Minsies or Minnisinks; known at successive periods as Magaghamack,\* the Precinct of Mamakating, and now as the town of Deerpark. Records and traditions all point to the conclusion that no white man had penetrated to the wilds of Magaghamack prior to February, 1694, when, with a view to ascertaining whether any of the French or their Indian allies had been tampering with the Minnisinks—"had sent for them or been in y<sup>e</sup> Minnissinck Country"—Captain Arent Schuyler was despatched here from New York on a tour of observation. Upon his return to New York he made the following report to Governor Fletcher:

"May it please your Excellency.

In pursuance to y<sup>r</sup> Excell: commands I have been in the Minissink Country, of which I have Kept the following journal: viz.

1694 y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> of Feb.—I departed from New Yorke for East New Jersey and came that night att Bergentown where I hired two men and a guide.

Y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday Morning.—I went from Bergen and travilled about ten English miles beyond Haghengsack to an Indian place called Peckwes.

Y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Monday.—From Peckwes North and be West I went about thirty two miles snowing and rainy weather.

Y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Tuesday.—I continued my journey to Maghaghkameick (the Indian name of the Neversink) and from thence to within half a days journey of the Menissinck.

Y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Wednesday.—About eleven o'clock I arrived at the Minissink

\* So written in some ancient records—Magaghameck in others.

and there I met with two of their Sachems and severall other Indians of whom I enquired after some news, if the French or their Indians had sent for them or been in y<sup>e</sup> Minissinck Country, upon w<sup>th</sup> they answered that noe French nor any of the French Indians were nor had been in the Minisink Country nor thereabouts, and did promise y<sup>t</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> French should happen to come or y<sup>t</sup> they heard of it that they will forthwith send a messenger and give y<sup>r</sup> Excellency notice thereof.

Inquiring further after news they told me that six days agoe three Christians and two Shauwans Indians who went about fifteen months agoe with Arnout Vielle into the Shauwans Country were passed by the Minisinks going for Albany to fetch powder for Arnout and his company: and further told them that said Arnout intended to be there w<sup>th</sup> seaven hundred of y<sup>e</sup> said Shauwans Indians loaden w<sup>th</sup> beavor and peltries at y<sup>e</sup> time y<sup>e</sup> Indian corn is one about foot high (which may in the Month of June).

The Minissinck Sachems further s<sup>d</sup> that one of their Sachems and other of their Indians were gone to fetch beavor and peltries which they had hunted; and having no news of them are afraid y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sinneques have killed them for y<sup>e</sup> lucar of the beavor or because y<sup>e</sup> Minissinck Indians have not been with y<sup>e</sup> Sinneques as usual to pay their Dutty, and therefore desier y<sup>t</sup> your Excellency will be pleased to order y<sup>t</sup> the Sinneques may not molest or hurt y<sup>e</sup> Minissinck, they be willing to continue in amity with them.

In the afternoon I departed from y<sup>e</sup> Minissincks; the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of Feb. I travilled and came att Bergen in y<sup>e</sup> morning and about noone arrived at New Yorke.

This may it please your Excell: the humble reporte of your Excellency's most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

ARENT SCHUYLER."

It was doubtless very soon after this visit of Captain Schuyler to the Minnisink Country that the settlement of white men within its borders began. Among those who escaped from Schenectady at the time of its capture by the Indians in 1689, was William Tietsoort, a blacksmith, who made his way to Esopus and afterward "went to the Minnisink Country," where, squatting upon a tract of land, he proceeded to cultivate it and subsequently purchased and secured a patent for it. In 1697 Jacob Codebec, Thomas Swartwout, Anthony Swartwout, Bernardus Swartwout, Jan Tyse, Peter Gimar, and David Jamison obtained a patent for "a certain quantity of land at a place called Maghagkameck—one thousand two hundred acres." Other pioneers came over from the Dutch settlements on the Hudson and





PORT JERVIS—JUNCTION OF THE VALLEYS OF THE DELAWARE AND NEVERSINK.

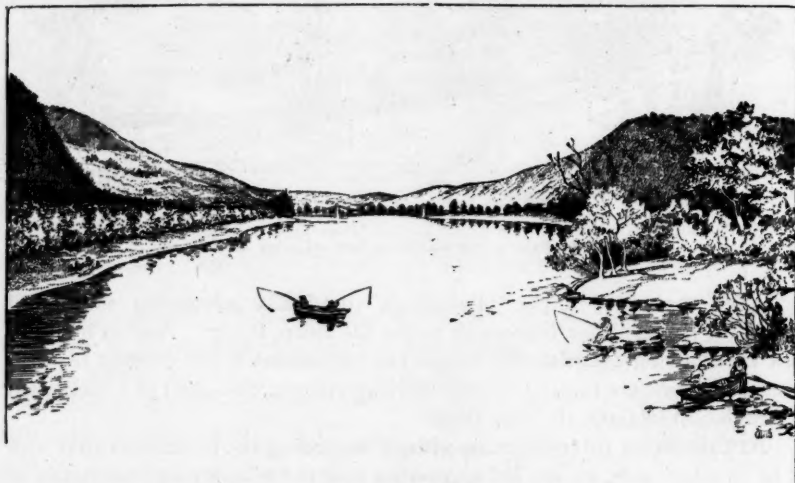
occupied the valley of the "Peenpack," gradually advancing southward along the banks of the Neversink to the Delaware River. And so by these few enterprising colonists was begun the settlement of the present town of Deerpark, now containing several thriving villages, the chief of which, with a population of 9,000, is Port Jervis.

At this pretty inter-montane village, regarding the mountains that wall it in on every side, we are led to wonder how the pipe-loving Dutchman of 1690 managed to make his way over such barriers into this grand amphitheater, and, once here, that he ever dreamed of getting away again. To traverse these rugged mountains on foot with the impedimenta of a settler must have been an undertaking that even the sturdy tramp of the seventeenth century might have been pardoned for shrinking from.

The eastern shore of the Neversink, opposite the Tri-States Rock, took from the Carpenter family, who early settled there, the name of Carpenter's Point. Here was the old ferry, affording transportation over the Delaware to the traveler journeying by the turnpike from Newburgh, on the Hudson, to Milford and Carbondale, in Pennsylvania, and Oswego, in New York. The village of Carpenter's Point, half a mile above the mouth of the Neversink, now linked to Port Jervis by a suspension bridge, held, until

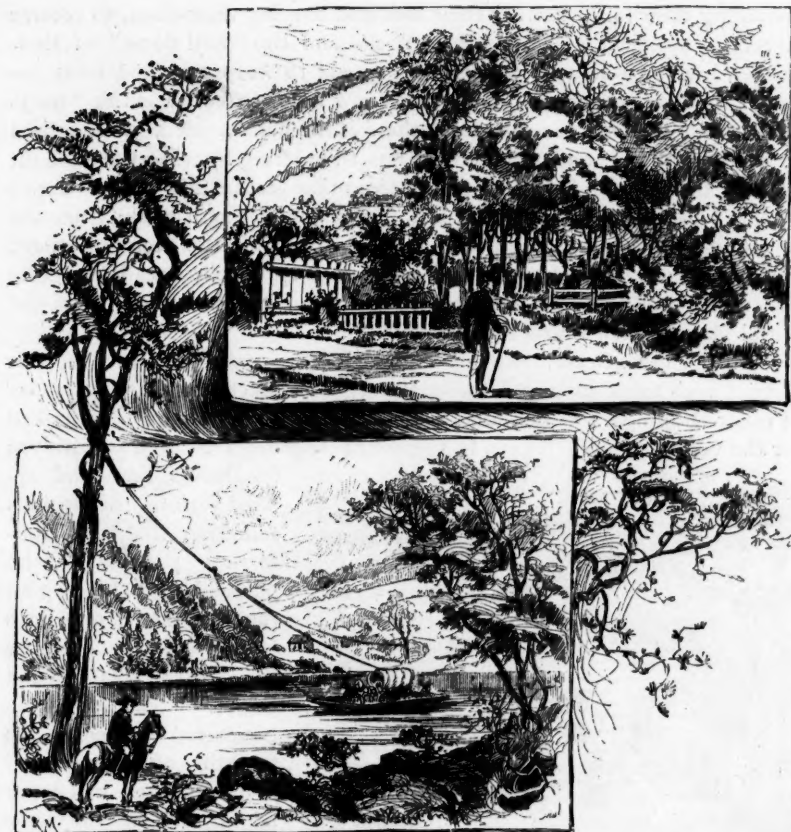
the opening of the Delaware and Hudson Canal in 1828, the position at present occupied by Port Jervis as the most important place in the district, and the center of business for the surrounding country. Here was the post-office, the store, the mill, the blacksmith shop, and the comfortable inn, where the traveler after his tedious journey over the old turnpike, found "good entertainment for man and beast."

At a short distance west of Carpenter's Point village, in the eastern quarter of Port Jervis, is the former site of the old "Reformed Dutch Church of Magaghamack," at present a part of the grounds of Charles F. Van Inwegen, Esq. Here upon a ridge, about equally distant from the



VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE, LOOKING WEST FROM LAUREL GROVE CEMETERY.

two rivers, in the shade of the forest trees, stood the humble log temple, around whose altar the hardy settlers who feared God more than the savage Indian, but who, nevertheless, "kept their powder dry," came together from miles around, to offer the sacrifice of humble prayer and praise and listen to the godly counsel of their venerated dominie, Johannes Casparus Fryenmoet, delivered from his pulpit perched on a post under an overhanging sounding board. It is not probable that Magaghamack Church enjoyed his ministrations on every Sabbath day, for he was at the same time pastor of "the Churches of Minnisink, Walpeck and Smithfield, all organized in 1737, and all located on the old Mine Road, leading from



OLD MAGAGHAMACK BURYING GROUND.

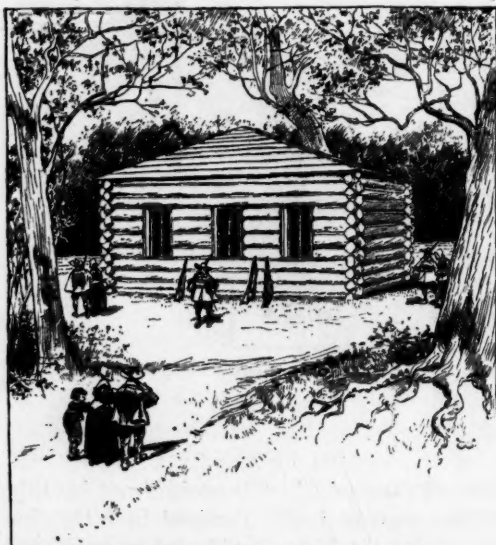
OLD FERRY OVER THE DELAWARE RIVER.

Kingston to the Copper Mines in Pahaguany." His work, if not his title, was that of a "bishop," and the compensation he received from the four churches of his "diocese" amounted all told to £70 in money, besides 25 schepels (about 20 bushels) of oats from each church, and his firewood. In those days the Gospel was had in these outposts of Zion almost without money and without price. They were true shepherds, who followed their wandering sheep into the wilderness, sharing their dangers and privations,

sustaining their faith, visiting their sick and burying their dead, to receive in return, besides the love of their flocks and the "well done" of their Master, barely enough of this world's goods to keep soul and body together. On the other side of the road (now Main Street) was the "burying ground." Here "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," undisturbed by the roar of the ponderous Erie trains thundering by; but the sunlight slanting through the branches of the trees that shade this "God's acre" reveals a saddening scene of neglect: graves undistinguishable from the surrounding earth, briars and weeds kindly concealing the decay of others, and headstones covered with lichens, prostrate and broken, make a picture that might well impress the stranger with the belief that this was the burial place of men whose race is now extinct.

In July, 1779, Brant, with his band of Indians and Tories, ravaged this district with tomahawk and torch, and the old sanctuary shared the fate of other buildings and became a heap of ashes. One might have looked for the vengeance of Heaven to follow the impious crew and to paralyze

the hands that had applied the sacrilegious torch, so that the God-fearing yeomanry who pursued and brought them to battle two days later, would have smote the sons of Belial hip and thigh, instead of being butchered by them in the "battle of Minnisink." A new church was erected in 1786, in the same place, this time of planed boards. In after years the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company having donated lands near "the Port" for the purpose, it was removed thither from its site of a hundred years,



REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH OF MAGAGHAMACK, 1738.

and became a more imposing edifice. A few years ago it was in turn replaced by one of the handsomest brick churches in the state. The first settled pastor over the four churches was Johannes Casparus Fryenmoet.



REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH OF DEERPARK, 1883.

His successors in the pastorate of Magaghamack church were Thomas Romeyn, Elias Van Bunschoten, John Demarest (the first one to conduct the services wholly in the English language) and Cornelius C. Elting.

The war-whoop of hostile Indians first startled the settlers of this district and called them to arms for the defense of their firesides during the "French and Indian war" of 1755, when there were less than two score families living within the limits of Deerpark. At that time the Lennapes and Minsies, who, as well as other tribes, were smarting under a sense of wrong done them by the English Proprietaries in securing grants of their choicest lands, resolved upon revenge, and making a vow "never to leave off killing the English until they had been paid for their lands," they inaugurated a war of extermination against the peaceful settlers who had occupied the soil, but who were entirely innocent of the sharp practice





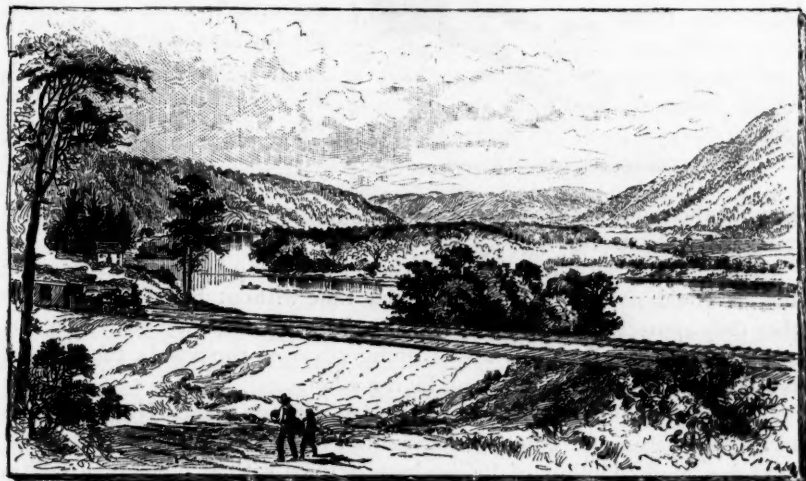
SHAWANGUNK MOUNTAINS—EAST OF PORT JERVIS.

of which the Indians had been the victims. The Lennapes and their allies ravaged the country lying along the line of the Blue Ridge, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna. The war-path of the Minsies lay along the frontiers of New Jersey and of Orange and Ulster counties. In 1758 the hatchet was buried and the pipe of peace was smoked by the Delawares and the pale-faces of the Minnisink country, and the latter were once more at liberty to resume the quiet pursuits of peace.

The raids of Indians into a district having so few defenders made apparent the necessity for "forts" as places of refuge and defense; and three were erected in the "Upper Neighborhood" and three in the "Lower," forming a chain of strongholds extending from Cuddebockville to the Delaware River. One of those of the Upper Neighborhood, an old stone house, is still to be seen, not far from the residence of Mr. Goddefroy, near Guymard Station. The spring at which its sturdy defenders slaked their thirst now has its waters pumped up by a new-fangled wind-mill.

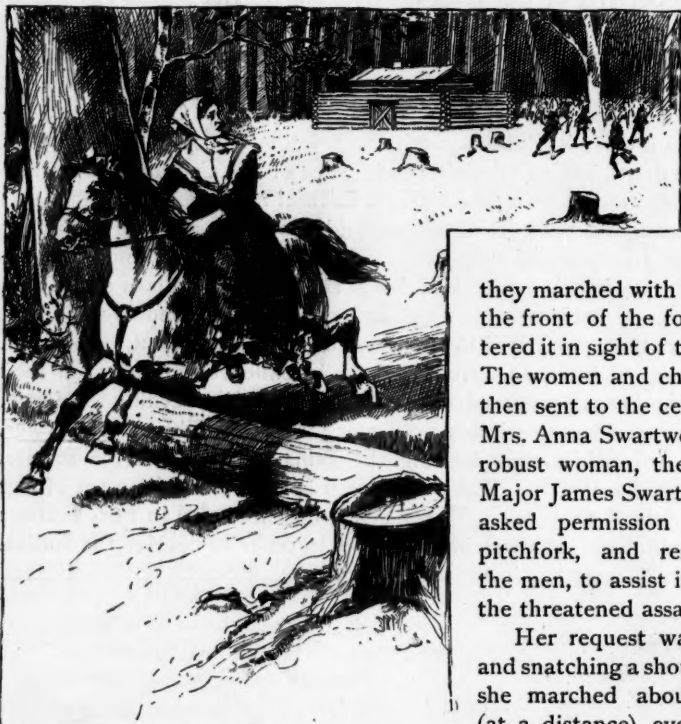
Another building, a large stone dwelling-house in the western quarter of Port Jervis, is of historic interest, standing as it does upon the foundations of a "fort" built before the Revolution, as tradition has it, by a family from Holland named Hayne, who settled here in 1760, and erected a building which served as dwelling, trading post, and fort, and where, for many years, they by turns bartered and battled with the Indians. The walls

were made of alternate layers of stone and logs, the crevices being filled with clay. The roof was of two layers of saplings, crossed and interwoven with a thick covering of clay from the river bank. Loop-holes in different parts of the walls enabled its defenders with safety to "draw a bead," with their trusty rifles, upon their savage assailants. A Captain Westfall, who married one of the daughters of the Hayne family, occupied the house in 1779, when Brant and his band raided this valley. The Captain, in anticipation of an attack, was absent, with the neighboring settlers, on a scout, when the Indians, having eluded the vigilance of the Captain's party, suddenly appeared approaching the fort. A faithful negro secreted the family treasures, brought a horse to the door, and the Captain's wife mounting, dashed away to a place of safety in the hills of New Jersey, near Carpenter's Point. Westfall's house had been attacked by Indians and Tories under Brant, on October 13th, 1778, and one of its defenders was killed. The invaders then proceeded to the house of a Mr. Swartwout, an old man, who with two of his sons were killed while endeavoring to make their escape. Another son succeeded, after a hot chase, in reaching the fort to which the women had previously been sent for safety. The men, who were at work in the fields, upon hearing the firing, hastened to the forts at Gamaer's and De Witt's. The other one was abandoned for want of men enough to defend them all. There being but nine men in Fort Gamaer, Captain Cuddeback, who was in command, in order to deceive the Indians



VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE—SOUTH OF FORT JERVIS.

as to the strength of the "garrison," mustered the women and children behind the fort, where they donned coats and hats belonging to the men,



ESCAPE OF THE WIFE OF CAPTAIN WESTFALL.

and when the savages appeared in view — with guns and sticks in their hands—

they marched with the men to the front of the fort, and entered it in sight of the Indians. The women and children were then sent to the cellar, except Mrs. Anna Swartwout, a large, robust woman, the widow of Major James Swartwout. She asked permission to take a pitchfork, and remain with the men, to assist in repelling the threatened assault.

Her request was granted, and snatching a shoulder forks, she marched about, looking (at a distance) every inch a soldier, and ready to send

some of the red-skins to the happy hunting grounds, should they attempt to enter the little stronghold.

This fort was surrounded by a stockade, and being in an open place, the Indians could not approach it in the day time without being seen; and as they duly appreciated the marksmanship of the whites, they passed on, out of range, to Fort De Witt, where, under cover of the woods, they fired a few shots, doing no harm beyond killing a horse.

The garrison fired a volley in return, but without effect. Having set fire to all the houses and barns in the vicinity, the savages disappeared. The next day, Major Phillips, of Phillipsburg, arrived with a company of militia — "just in time to be too late."

After this raid the Count Pulaski was sent with his cavalry to Minnissink, for its protection, and was engaged in that service during the winter following.

After his withdrawal in the spring, hostilities were renewed, and, on the 19th of July, Brant, with about a hundred *savages*—one-third of them Tories disguised as Indians, invaded the Lower Neighborhood. The inhabitants, taken by surprise, and terror-stricken by fearful yells and the flames of their burning dwellings, sought



A DEERPARK AMAZON.

safety in flight. Some were tomahawked on their thresholds, and others were shot as they attempted to flee. Those who escaped, made their way to the mountains—their lives saved, but all their worldly goods lost. Magaghamack Church, the mills, houses, and barns were consigned to the flames; a number of persons were taken captive, live stock was driven off, and loot of every kind was carried up the Delaware to Grassy Brook, where Brant had his "headquarters."

Learning, from fugitives, of the invasion, Lieutenant-Colonel Tusten, of the Goshen regiment; Colonel Hathorn, of Warwick; and Captain Meeker, of the New Jersey militia, with such numbers of their men as could be hastily mustered, and with Colonel Hathorn in command, pursued Brant up the Delaware to the hills opposite the mouth of the Lackawaxen creek, and brought him to battle. Hathorn disposed his force in three divisions, and was preparing to attack, when Brant took the initiative, and led his warriors against Hathorn's unprepared lines with such impetuosity that the rear division broke and fled. Hathorn rallied his men, but Brant had the advantage of superior numbers, and the Americans were gradually driven

back, until they were hemmed in within the space of an acre of rocky ground, where forty-five men stoutly maintained the unequal conflict for more than five hours. When their ammunition had been expended, they formed a hollow square, and with clubbed muskets, prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Their lines being broken, they were soon completely routed, and a general *sauve qui peut* took place. Many were overtaken and killed; the victors not even sparing Colonel Tusten and the seventeen wounded men to whose wants he was ministering. Of Hathorn's expedition, only about thirty returned alive. The bones of forty-three were left to whiten the wild hillside until 1822, when they were gathered up and interred at Goshen, under a monument, upon which were engraved their names, so far as known—including those of Lieutenant-Colonel Tusten, three captains, one lieutenant, one adjutant, two ensigns, and thirty-five privates. In 1862 this monument was replaced by a more ornate one, for which provision had been made in the will of the patriotic Doctor Merritt H. Cash, of Waywayanda. Colonel Hathorn, in his report of the battle to Governor Clinton, quaintly remarks, "Dear Governor, it's not in my power to point out to you the disagreeable situation I was in, surrounded by a foe with such a handful of valuable men, not only as soldiers, but as fellow-citizens and members of society, and nothing to be expected but the hatchet, spear and scalping-knife. The tremendous yells and whoops all the fiends in the confines of the Infernal Region, with one united cry, could not exceed. Add to this the cries and petitions of the wounded around me not to leave them was beyond parallel or idea. \* \* \* \* \* However, circumstances give me a little consolation. Mr. Roger Townsend, of Goshen, received a wound in his thigh; being exceedingly thirsty, making an attempt to go to find water, was met by an Indian, who very friendly took him by the hand, and said he was his prisoner, and would not hurt him. A well-directed ball from one of our men put the Indian into a doze, and Mr. Townsend ran back into the lines. I hope some little humanity may yet be found in the breasts of the savages." Whether the gentleness of Mr. Townsend's captor, or the "well-directed ball that put him into a doze" was the "circumstance that afforded" the gallant colonel "consolation," is left to conjecture.

Tradition says that the cupidity of the Indians had been excited by a reward, offered by the British, for the scalp of Major John Decker, of Mamakating, and to gain this prize was the chief object of some of their raids into the Minnisink Country. He held a commission from the Provincial Congress, dated February 28th, 1776, as "Second Major of the Goshen Regiment of Militia of Foot in Orange County, of which William Allison,



Esq., is Colonel." He was living in a wooden house, with outer fortifications of logs, at the time of Brant's visit, but was absent from home attending a funeral. There was no one in the house but his aged mother and a child. His wife and a colored woman were at the spring doing the washing. The Indians surrounded the house, and a Tory entering, told the Major's mother that they were about to burn it, and started a fire upon the floor.



GLIMPSE OF CARPENTER'S POINT VILLAGE.

The old lady seized a pail of water, and extinguished it. She was warned not to do so again, or she would be killed. The Major's wife attempted to escape across the fields, but Brant sent an Indian after her, and when she had been brought back, he told her that he wished her to see her husband's house burned, but that she should not be harmed, and gave her permission to save anything she could. She brought out a couple of beds and some bed-clothes, which Brant directed two Indians to assist her in removing to

a safe distance. The house was then destroyed, and the desolate women made their beds that night under the trees on the banks of the Neversink. The Major, having seen the smoke of his burning house on his return from the funeral, was riding fast, when he met and dashed through a party of the marauders, who appeared to be taken by surprise, none of them firing at him, but all looking in the direction whence he had come, as if expecting to see a party of his friends following him. He, on his part, believing more Indians to be in front of him, wheeled his horse, and rode back through them again, when they fired, and wounded him in the thigh and body. He rode on until his horse, becoming unmanageable, ran into a tree-top lying across the road, and became so entangled that it was impossible to extricate him. Leaving him, the Major scrambled up the rocks and crawled into a cave, the Indians pursuing him to its mouth, but not succeeding in finding him.

He remained concealed until nightfall, when, wounded and footsore, he made his way across the mountains to a house near Finchville. There he found his son Benjamin, a boy of sixteen, who had escaped from the school-house, where the Indians had killed Jeremiah Van Auken, the teacher, and some of the schoolboys. Other boys fled, and secreted themselves in the woods, while the little girls stood by the prostrate body of



BRANT AND THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN.

their teacher, horror-stricken and trembling in anticipation of a like terrible fate. An Indian, with the bearing of a superior, approaching them, hastily made some marks with war paint on their aprons, and bade them, "when they saw an Indian coming, to hold up the mark, and it would save them." Then, darting into the woods, he disappeared. It was the dreaded chief, Brant; and as he had promised, the Indians, when they saw the saving sign on the aprons, as they ran by in search of victims, passed on, and left the children unmolested. The little girls conceived the idea that the same sign might be used to save their brothers, and having hunted them up, they threw their aprons over the boys' clothing, impressing the mark upon them, and they, too, were unharmed by the passing savages.

Brant, with all his cruel instincts, appeared, in this instance, at least, to shrink from staining his hands with the blood of women and little children, and so much may be placed to the credit side of his sanguinary account—if nothing more.

*Edgar Brodhead*

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PIERRE AND JEAN LAFITTE,  
THE FAMOUS SMUGGLERS OF LOUISIANA,

1809-1814

I

The perturbed state of the world in 1809, in consequence of the protracted wars in Europe, the disastrous effects of which were felt even in countries distant from the principal seats of belligerent action, induced a restless tide of immigration to America. New Orleans received accessions to her population from almost every civilized portion of the earth, and particularly from Jamaica, Guadeloupe, and the other West India Islands, where British aggressions and conquests had disposed many of the French to seek refuge elsewhere. Thus the price of provisions and house rent became so extravagantly high that, in the month of November of that year, families of limited resources found themselves in severe pecuniary difficulty, and the number of the destitute was daily increasing.

It is generally believed that the two brothers Pierre and Jean Lafitte were among the adventurers who at that epoch arrived in New Orleans. It is impossible to make any precise assertion on the subject. The impression remains in the country that they originally came from Bayonne—some say Bordeaux. They were men of a limited education, but intelligent, active; their manners were cordial and winning—of a sympathetic nature, bold and capable of creating an almost irresistible influence over congenial spirits. There was something imposing in their appearance; both were tall and of commanding presence. Jean (*anglice* John), the younger brother, had a physiognomy which would have been remarked anywhere—under any circumstances—and which indicated that he was no ordinary man.

The writer of this article might, in his youth, have informed himself thoroughly about the Lafittes; for he knew well several of their former companions, clients, and moneyed associates, who were men of veracity. But the Lafittes, after their departure from Louisiana in 1815, were forgotten, as it were, and very little talked about among its rising generation. They had not then become the heroes of romance, and were not yet viewed through that mist of time which enlarges proportions and features, or makes objects so indistinct as to allow the imagination to give them fanciful shapes. All those who could have spoken the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the Lafittes, have descended into

the tomb. Most that is now current about them among the credulous is derived from unreliable babblers, who have circulated the idle rumors of the street, or the fables of their own invention. I propose in this paper to relate only what is based on authentic records.

Shortly after their arrival in New Orleans, the two brothers were surrounded with friends and dependants. They seem to have possessed some pecuniary means; for they owned slaves and employed them in a blacksmith shop which they established on the north side of St. Philip Street, between Bourbon and Dauphine Streets. They resided close by, at the north-west corner of Bourbon and St. Philip Streets. Both house and shop have since disappeared. But this peaceful industry does not seem to have been to their taste, and perhaps it was not sufficiently remunerative for their impatient ambition. They found smuggling already prevailing in Louisiana to a considerable extent, and for a length of time which had made it almost a legitimate habit. The geographical, moral, commercial and agricultural conditions of the country were favorable to the development of this illicit pursuit, and the Lafittes, when they engaged in it, found an encouraging support in the population. The very hazards of the game were exciting; and, besides, the gains were so high and so alluring that all risks were readily forgotten, or were encountered with unhesitating resolution.

On the 6th of September, 1810, Thomas Bolling Robertson, the Secretary of the Territory of Orleans, but then the Acting-Governor in the place of Claiborne, who had gone to Baltimore on leave of absence, issued the following address to all those whom it might concern on the Territory:

"You have no doubt heard of the late introduction of African slaves among us. Two cargoes have been already smuggled into this Territory by the way of Barataria and Lafourche; and I am fully convinced, from a variety of circumstances which have come to my knowledge, that an extensive and well-laid plan exists, to evade or to defeat the operation of the laws of the United States on that subject. The open and daring course which is now pursued by a set of brigands who infest our coast and overrun our country is calculated to excite the strongest indignation in the breast of every one who feels the slightest respect for the wise and politic institutions under which we live. At this moment, upwards of one hundred slaves are held by some of our own citizens, in the very teeth of the most positive laws; and, notwithstanding every exertion which has been made, so general seems to be the disposition to aid in the concealment, that but faint hopes are entertained of detecting the parties and bringing them to punishment."



Notwithstanding his "faint hopes," Robertson vigorously called upon the good people of the Territory to help him in suppressing the evil to which he invited their attention; but, as he had suspected, it turned out to be "the voice in the wilderness."

Robertson's proclamation was founded on facts which were undeniable. It is but too true that, for some considerable time before official notice was taken of it, smuggling had been carried on to some extent in relation to African slaves; and in every other sort of merchandise, to an immense amount; not only through the Barataria Lakes and the Bayou Lafourche, but also through the Bayou Têche in the Attakapas District.

In the mean time, the Territory of Orleans had become the State of Louisiana. On the 15th of March, 1812, Governor Claiborne took in hand the increasing evil of which Secretary Robertson had complained, and issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas, I have received information that upon or near the shores of Lake Barataria, within the limits and the jurisdiction of this State, a considerable number of bandits, composed of individuals of different nations, have armed and equipped several vessels for the avowed purpose of cruising on the high seas, and committing depredations and piracies on the vessels of nations at peace with the United States, and carrying on an illicit trade in goods, wares and merchandise with the inhabitants of this State, in opposition to the laws of the United States, and to the great injury of the fair trade and of the public revenue; and whereas, there is reasonable ground to fear that the parties thus waging lawless war will cease to respect the laws and property of the good citizens of this State, I have thought proper to issue this my proclamation, hereby commanding the persons engaged as aforesaid in such unlawful acts to cease therefrom and forthwith to disperse and separate; and I do charge and require all officers, civil and military, in this State, and within their respective districts, to be vigilant and active in apprehending and securing every individual engaged as aforesaid in the violation of the laws; and I do caution the people of this State against holding any kind of intercourse, or being in any manner concerned with such high offenders; and I do earnestly exhort each and every good citizen to afford help, protection and support to the officers in suppressing a combination so destructive to the interests of the United States, and of this State in particular; and to rescue Louisiana from the foul reproach which would attach to her character should her shores afford any asylum, or her citizens any countenance, to an association of individuals whose practices are subversive of all laws, human and divine, and of whose ill-begotten treasure no man can partake without being forever dishonored and exposing himself to the severest punishment."

This proclamation did not prevent the individuals therein mentioned from appearing day and night in the streets of New Orleans, and from carrying on their trade with its citizens and the planters in the adjoining parishes without much danger or impediment. The fact is that, in those days, smuggling was considered but a very venial sin, if a sin at all, and men who were looked upon as the soul of honor, and who were of the most

scrupulous integrity in all their business transactions, did not hesitate to avail themselves of the services of the denounced outlaws. The revenue laws were regarded as oppressive, or at least too restrictive; it was thought that the general prosperity of the State needed free trade; they could not afford to pay the imposed duties; and as to the importation of slaves into Louisiana, clandestine as it was, there were but very few of her people who had an objection to it, while the immense majority sincerely believed that they could not continue to exist without the introduction of that kind of labor. For these reasons, the men who were proclaimed "banditti and pirates" were considered rather as clever fellows, who hardly deserved such harsh appellation. Hence their impunity.

The month of November, in 1813, had nearly elapsed, and the Baratania band of smugglers against whom Claiborne had issued a proclamation on the 15th of March, 1812, still continued their illegal pursuits, as if no obstacle had been intended to be thrown in their way. Wherefore, on the 24th of that month he fulminated against them this second proclamation:

"Whereas, the nefarious practice of running in contraband goods, which has hitherto prevailed in different parts of this State, to the great injury of the fair trader and the diminution of the revenue of the United States, has of late much increased; and whereas, the violators of the law, emboldened by the impunity of past trespasses, no longer conceal themselves from the view of the honest part of the community, but, setting the Government at defiance, in broad daylight, carry on their infamous traffic; and, whereas, it has been officially known to me that, on the 14th of last month (October) a quantity of smuggled goods, seized by Walter Gilbert, an officer of the revenue of the United States, were forcibly taken from him in open day, at no great distance from the city of New Orleans, by a party of armed men under the orders of a certain John Lafitte, who fired upon and grievously wounded one of the assistants of the said Walter Gilbert; and although process has issued for the apprehension of him, the said John Lafitte, yet such is the countenance and protection afforded him, or the terror excited by the threats of himself and his associates, that the same remains unexecuted;

"And whereas, the apathy of the good people of this State in checking practices so opposed to morality and to the laws and interests of the United States, may impair the fair character which Louisiana maintains and ought to preserve as a member of the American Union;

"I have thought proper to issue this, my proclamation, hereby strictly charging and commanding all officers of this State, civil and military, in their respective departments, to be vigilant and active in preventing the violation of the laws in the premises, and in apprehending and securing all parties offending therein, and I do solemnly caution all and singular the citizens of this State against giving any kind of succor, support or countenance to the said John Lafitte and associates; but do call upon them to be aiding and abetting in arresting him and said associates, and all others in like manner offending; and

I do furthermore, in the name of the State, offer a reward of five hundred dollars, which will be paid out of the treasury to any person delivering the said John Lafitte to the sheriff of the Parish of Orleans, or to any other sheriff in the State, so that the said John Lafitte may be brought to justice."

The band of smugglers mentioned in this proclamation, which was destined to be as little effective as the preceding one, was composed of desperate men of all nations, avowedly under the command of the two brothers, Pierre and John Lafitte. There is no reason known why Pierre was not translated into Peter, as Jean was into John. This brotherly pair had begun with being, in copartnership with others, the agents in New Orleans of the Barataria smugglers, and ended with being their leaders and chiefs, in consequence of which they were outlawed, as we have seen, by the country to which they had resorted for illicit purposes.

On the coast of Louisiana, west of the mouth of the Mississippi, there is an island called Grande Terre, which is six miles in length, and from two to three miles in breadth, running parallel with the coast. Behind that island, about six miles from the open sea, there is a secure harbor, which is reached by the Great Pass of Barataria, in which there is from nine to ten feet of water. This harbor communicates with a number of lakes, lagoons, bayous, sea outlets, and with canals, natural and artificial, leading to the Mississippi, and which, skirted by swampy forests and forming a labyrinth of waters, offered a tempting field of operation to the Robin Hoods of the sea. These men pretended to be privateers, cruising with letters of marque issued by France and the new Republic of Carthage in South America, to prey upon the commerce of Spain; but the world called them pirates, and accused them of capturing vessels belonging to all nations, not even excepting those of the United States, into whose territory they brought their prizes in violation of law. Many horrible tales were related of these men, but were stoutly denied by them and by their friends, who were numerous and influential.

The Government of the United States had attempted several expeditions against them, but of so feeble a character as to be necessarily abortive. Whenever any attack was meditated against these buccaneers, they seemed to be mysteriously informed of the coming danger, and in time to avoid it. On such occasions, they would break up their establishment and carry it to some unknown part of the coast. Should the new quarters be discovered and threatened they were transported elsewhere; and the buccaneers would invariably return to the places they formerly occupied as soon as vacated by their foes. It was even rumored, and believed by

many, that the pursuers never had any serious intention of capturing the pursued.

On the 23d of June, 1813, the English tried whether they would not be more successful than the Americans, and one of their sloops-of-war attacked two privateers that were at anchor off Cat Island. This time, the buccaneers, smugglers, pirates, or whatever the name to which they were entitled, showed no disposition to avoid an armed collision, as they generally did, when threatened by the American navy; and they beat off the English, who suffered considerable loss.

Major A. Lacarrière Latour, then Principal Engineer in the Seventh Military District of the United States, who has published a valuable "Historical Memoir," with maps, on the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814 and 1815, remarks on a state of things which he had seen, and on which, therefore, he was competent to pass accurate judgment, as follows: "Social order has, indeed, to regret that these men, mostly aliens and cruising under a foreign flag, do so audaciously infringe our laws as openly to make sale of their goods on our soil. But what is much more deplorable and equally astonishing is, that the agents of Government in this country so long tolerated such violations of our laws, or, at least delayed for four years to take effectual measures to put a stop to these lawless practices. It cannot be pretended that the country was destitute of the means necessary to repress these outrages. The troops stationed at New Orleans were for that purpose, and it cannot be doubted but that a well-conducted expedition would have cleared our waters of the privateers, and a proper garrison stationed at the place they made their harbor would have prevented their return. The species of impunity with which these men were apparently indulged, inasmuch as no rigorous measures were resorted to against them, made the contraband trade carried on at Barataria look as if tacitly tolerated. In a word, it is a fact no less true than painful for me to assert, that at Grande Terre, the privateers publicly made sale, by auction, of the cargoes of their prizes. From all parts of Louisiana people resorted to Barataria, without being at all solicitous to conceal the object of their journey. In the streets of New Orleans it was usual for traders to give and receive orders for purchasing goods at Barataria, with as little secrecy as similar orders were given for Philadelphia or New York. The most respectable inhabitants of the State, especially those living in the country, were in the habit of purchasing smuggled goods coming from Barataria. The frequent seizures made of these goods were but an ineffectual remedy of the evil, as the great profit yielded by such parcels as escaped the vigilance of the Custom House

officers indemnified the traders for the loss of what they had paid for the goods seized—their price being always very moderate, by reason of the quantity of prizes brought in and of the impatience of the captors to turn them into money and sail on a new cruise. This traffic was at last carried on with such scandalous notoriety, that the agents of the Government incurred very general and open reprehension, many persons contending that they had interested motives for conniving at such abuses, as smuggling was a source of confiscation from which they derived considerable benefit."

Such were the evils that Claiborne's first and second proclamations intended to remedy.

On the 20th of January, 1814, the Governor was informed by the United States Collector that four hundred and fifteen negroes had lately been consigned to Pierre and John Lafitte at Barataria, and that they were to be sold at public auction. The Collector requested that a strong force be organized "to defeat the purposes of these law infractors." Four days after, a report reached New Orleans that Stout, a temporary inspector of the revenue, who had been stationed, with twelve men, by the Collector, near the place called the "Temple," at Barataria, had been attacked by John Lafitte and his companions. Stout had been killed and two of his men dangerously wounded; the rest had been made prisoners. The Collector immediately laid before the Governor all the circumstances of this outrage, with these remarks: "It is high time that these contrabandists, dispersed throughout the State, should be taught to respect our laws, and I hold it my duty to call on your Excellency for a force adequate to the exigency of the case.

The Governor sent to the Legislature copies of the Collector's communication on this subject, and recommended that suitable provision be made to break up the establishment of those lawless men on the coast of Louisiana. He informed the Chambers that this duty was to be performed by the State, because the general commanding the Federal troops in the District which embraced Louisiana, declared that, on account of the war then waging between the United States and Great Britain, he found it inconvenient to the service to withdraw at the moment any part of them from the important and exposed posts which they occupied, although he had proposed, should any military force be employed, to afford such facilities in rations, camp equipage, munitions and other supplies, as might conveniently be issued from the public stores.

"My present powers," said Claiborne to the Legislature, "are doubtless competent to the ordering of a detachment of militia on this service; but I owe it to myself and to the State to guard against even the proba-



bility of a miscarriage. For it would indeed be a melancholy occurrence if the men to be detached for this duty, encouraged to disobedience by the late conduct of some militia corps, should furnish evidence of the inability of the Executive to enforce on this occasion the supremacy of the laws. I therefore recommend this subject to your immediate consideration."

He further added: "The evil requires a strong corrective. Force must be resorted to. These lawless men can soon be operated on by their fears and the certainty of punishment. I have not been enabled to ascertain their numbers; by some they are estimated at from one hundred to one hundred and fifty, and by others they are represented to be from three hundred to five hundred, and it is added that their principal place of depot for their plunder—an island within the Lake Barataria—is defended by several pieces of cannon. But," continued the Governor, "so systematic is the plan in which this daring attempt against the laws of our country is conducted—so numerous and bold are the followers of Lafitte, and, I grieve to say it, such is the countenance afforded him by some of our citizens, to me unknown—that all efforts to apprehend this high offender have hitherto been baffled."

A committee was appointed by the General Assembly to communicate with the Governor on the subject to which he had called their attention. But in the mean time the Lafittes, with the utmost indifference as to ultimate consequences, were in the daily habit of sending their contraband goods to the town of Donaldsonville, situated at the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi, and to several other points on the river, under the escort of strong detachments of armed men, who set at defiance all interference with their trade. The confidence of the Lafittes in executing these bold movements seems to have been well founded; for the Legislature, on account of the want of funds, postponed to some more appropriate moment the organization of the military expedition which Claiborne had so earnestly solicited.

Time elapsed, and the pirates of Barataria, as they were called, remained undisturbed; but Collector Dubourg and the Governor were not discouraged by the supineness of the Legislature of the State or the indifference of the Federal Government. On the 2d of March, 1814, the Governor sent the following message to the General Assembly:

"I lay before you a letter which was addressed to me on yesterday by Colonel Dubourg, Collector for the District of Louisiana, from which you will perceive the great and continued violations, within the State, of the Non-intercourse, the Embargo and other laws of the United States, and the necessity of affording to the officers of the revenue the support of

an armed force whilst in the discharge of their duty. General Flournoy, not deeming it prudent (on account of the fears of a British invasion) to withdraw for the present any of the regular troops under his command from the important and exposed posts they occupy, the Collector of the District conceives it a duty, in conformity with the instructions from the General Government, to apply once more to the Chief Magistrate of Louisiana for such aid as will enable the officers of the revenue to fulfill their obligations.

"I entreat you, therefore, to furnish me with the means of co-operating on this occasion with promptitude and effect. It is desirable to disperse those desperate men on Lake Barataria, whose piracies have rendered our shores a terror to neutral flags, and diverted from New Orleans that lucrative intercourse with Vera Cruz and other neutral ports which formerly filled our banks with the richest deposits. It is no less an object to put an end to that system of smuggling which exists, to the disgrace of the State, the injury of the fair trader, and the diminution, as I am advised, of the circulating medium of this city, in so great a degree as is likely to produce serious commercial embarrassments, than it is important, above all, to prevent breaches of the Embargo law, and to mar the projects of those traitors who wish to carry supplies to the enemy. To enable me to accomplish these ends, or at least some of them, I ask for authority to raise by voluntary enlistment a force of not less than one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one third lieutenant, one drummer, one fifer, and one hundred privates, to serve for six months, unless sooner discharged, and to be employed under the Government in dispersing any armed association of individuals within the State, having for object the violation of the laws of the United States, and to assist the officers of the revenue in enforcing the provisions of the Embargo, Non-intercourse, and other acts of Congress. The officers, non-commissioned officers and privates to be entitled to the same pay, rations and emoluments as are allowed the troops of the United States, and to be subject to the rules and articles of war as prescribed by Congress.

"As this corps will be solely employed in enforcing the laws of the United States, I am persuaded the General Government will readily defray any expense which may attend the raising and maintaining of the same. But if in this reasonable expectation we should be disappointed, I would advise that the corps be immediately dispersed, for the present embarrassments of our treasury will not admit of its remaining in service at the expense of the State."

This message did not produce on the General Assembly the stimulating effect which was desired by the Executive. Most of the members of that body were aware that their constituents thought themselves benefited by the illicit trade which the Governor wished to suppress, and they did not care to be put to the expense and trouble of collecting revenue for a government which could not make itself respected by a handful of depredators, whom it affected to look upon as the scum of the earth. The backwardness of the Legislature to act in this matter was extremely unpalatable to Governor Claiborne.

It seems, however, that some faint efforts were made to give at least apparent satisfaction to the Governor, by attempting to prosecute criminally the two Lafittes. A presentment against them was made by the

Grand Jury during the July term of the United States District Court, and some testimony was taken down in writing. The presentment was signed by Paul Lanusse, one of the principal merchants of New Orleans.

The Lafittes had enough to do at Barataria to occupy all their time, and could not afford to be roving on the high seas. Their principal and engrossing occupation was to dispose of the cargoes of the vessels taken by their cruisers; to sell them privately, or at frequent and almost daily public auctions; to divide the products among those entitled to them; to carry safely to their numerous clients, through the innumerable lakes and bayous with which they were familiar, the merchandise which they had agreed to deliver; to settle the claims and conflicts arising among the outlaws themselves; and to enforce the required discipline among fierce and unruly men, prone to quarrel on the slightest provocation, divided in their nationalities, prejudices and language, and united only by the cohesion of plunder. It was a hard task, and one which required their constant presence at *the seat of Government*.

Pierre and John Lafitte always objected to unnecessary violence. When opposed by force, they used force; they wounded or killed their adversaries, but never wantonly—they even avoided it as much as possible, and that from evident reasons and prudential motives. Whenever there was any armed collision, John Lafitte in particular always strove to put an end to it and to make it as little fatal as possible. On one occasion, when carrying merchandise through Bayou Lafourche, he was attacked by a post of revenue officers stationed on shore. He repulsed them successfully, but almost apologized for the blood he had shed, saying to the men he had fought: "I desire you to know that I am averse to such strifes, but at the same time you must distinctly understand that I prefer losing my life rather than my goods."

It required on the part of the Lafittes the most skillful management, tact and minute knowledge of localities and persons to be able to carry on advantageously and for so long a time their illicit pursuits, and with an impunity which we can hardly realize at the present day. They had to be continually on the watch; to multiply intrigues and secret negotiations; to soften the hand of power; to blind the keen-sighted; to be incessantly on the wing from place to place, and to visit certain spots where to receive the reports of their spies, the underground communications of friends and authorities in New Orleans, and the multifarious commands of their very numerous clients. They had to attend to as many commercial orders as any of the most extensive merchants in New York and Philadelphia, and perhaps to a great deal more. He who studies their operations, the nature

of their avocations, and the exigencies to which they were subjected, must arrive at the conclusion that it was impossible for them to be absent any length of time from where they happened to be so much wanted. Hence they never could, nor ever did, as now believed by many, personally sport the black flag, or any other flag, on the blue waves of the Gulf. It was not they, but their hired crews, who captured vessels. They were the moneyed men of the association, and the partners of moneyed men whom they represented. They prepared and equipped the marine expeditions which they sent out, but they remained at home. They were merchants—smuggling and outlawed merchants, it is true—but nevertheless merchants, and nothing else. They dealt in ill-begotten merchandise, which they sold at auction, or at private sale, as already stated, and honestly divided the profits among their associates. They were free traders with ropes around their necks; yet traders, nevertheless, and not the professional cut-throats that they have been represented by imaginative people.

In justice to these two notorious men, it must be admitted that it is not judicially established that they had any other than Spanish vessels captured. The testimony in court, which I have examined, shows that all the vessels reported to have been taken as prizes by their cruisers belonged to that nation, with which the new Republic of Carthage was at war. It is possible that more than once these cruisers disregarded the protection of neutral flags, and were not over-scrupulous in their discrimination in such matters. But proof is wanted to change possibilities into facts. In the cases mentioned in court the prizes were fat enough—gold and silver—and frequently cargoes of African slaves, that sold rapidly at an average price of \$170 per head.

The judicial proceedings against the Lafittes were extremely loose, and strikingly defective in consequence of a remarkable absence of dates as to the alleged violations of law. It does not even appear that the accusation led to any trial, and much less to a verdict. It seems to have been endowed with but feeble vitality, which flickered out of existence without a struggle, and without doing any harm to anybody, except to one of the members of the bar engaged in the case. John R. Grymes, one of the most distinguished lawyers of New Orleans, was at the time district attorney for the United States, but the emoluments were small. The Lafittes having offered him a very large fee to take in hand their defense, he resigned his office, and Dick was appointed in his place. Dick, in full court, reproached Grymes with having acted disgracefully on that occasion, and with having been seduced out of the path of professional honor and duty by the blood-stained gold of pirates. Grymes resented this language, and challenged Dick, who was shot in the hip and crippled for life.

Edward Livingston, another shining light of the Louisiana bar, had been retained by the Lafittes to act jointly with Grymes. The fee promised was to have been \$20,000 each. The accused, when freed from the meshes of the law, invited both counselors to come to Barataria and receive their pay. Grymes accepted readily; but Livingston was not disposed to risk the adventure. "Grymes," he said jocosely, "as you are a well-known scapegrace, you have nothing to fear from congenial spirits. But, as to myself, they might hang me for being so different from you and them. Therefore, I propose to you to be my representative, and as a remuneration for your trouble, I will give you ten per cent. on my fee if you bring it to me." "Agreed," said Grymes, and departed. He was treated with princely hospitality by the Baratarians, who insisted on his remaining a whole week with them. Finally, he was conducted by the Lafittes themselves to the bank of the Mississippi, in a superb yawl loaded with boxes of Spanish gold and silver. It was highly amusing to hear Grymes relate how gorgeously feasted he was at Barataria by these innocent and persecuted people, whom he represented as the most glorious fellows in the world. He, no doubt, somewhat ornamented the narrative of his reception by his grateful clients. He loved to revert to the subject, and never failed to do justice to it with the utmost felicity of diction, grace of manner, and a sort of dry and caustic humor which he knew how to use with the greatest skill. "What a cruel misnomer it is," he would exclaim with mock solemnity, "to call the most honest and polished gentlemen that the world ever produced bandits and pirates."

Meanwhile a portion of the British forces destined against Louisiana was approaching its coasts. There was a point from which they hoped for assistance in their contemplated invasion. This was the Bay of Barataria, known by them to be the asylum of a large number of desperate outlaws, who were supposed to be inimical to the government of the United States, by which they were proscribed. On the 3d of September, 1814, a British brig anchored six miles from the Barataria Pass, and sent on shore a flag of truce, with Captains McWilliams and Lockyer, of the British navy, as special messengers to John Lafitte and his associates. They delivered to that individual a letter from Colonel Nicholls, who, be it remembered, addressed Lafitte, as "the Commandant at Barataria," and in the following style:

"I have arrived in the Floridas for the purpose of annoying the only enemy Great Britain has in the world, as France and England are now friends. I call on you, with your brave followers, to enter into the service of Great Britain, in which you shall have the grade of a captain; lands will be given to you all, in proportion to your respective ranks, on peace taking place, and I invite you on the following terms: your property shall



be guaranteed to you, and your persons protected—in return for which I ask you to cease all hostilities against Spain or the allies of Great Britain—your ships and vessels to be placed under the orders of the commanding officer on this station, until the commander-in-chief's pleasure is known; but I guarantee their full value at all events. I herewith inclose you a copy of my proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana, which will, I trust, point out to you the honorable intentions of my government. You may be a useful instrument to me in forwarding them; therefore, if you determine, lose no time. The bearer of this, Captain McWilliams, will satisfy you on any other point you may be anxious to learn, as will Captain Lockyer, of the *Sophia*, who brings him to you. We have a powerful reinforcement on its way here, and I hope to cut out some other work for the Americans than oppressing the inhabitants of Louisiana. Be expeditious in your resolves, and *rely on the verity of your very humble servant.*"

It is certainly not possible to suppose, from the tone of this letter and its almost servile conclusion, and from the offers which it contains, that Colonel Nicholls, of the British army, would ever have dared, under any circumstances, to address such a communication to any one whom he considered as justly bearing the character of a "captain of pirates," which imputation John Lafitte and his brother had always protested against, and indignantly repelled as a calumnious aspersion.

To this letter of Colonel Nicholls were annexed the instructions given by Sir W. H. Percy, captain of His Britannic Majesty's ship *Hermes*, and senior officer in the Gulf of Mexico, to Captain Lockyer, of His Majesty's ship *Sophia*. In that document he applied the softest and most guarded language to Lafitte and his companions in relation to their status, and designated them as the "Inhabitants of Barataria." It ran thus:

"Having understood that some British merchantmen have been detained, taken into and sold by the Inhabitants of Barataria, I have directed Captain Lockyer to proceed to that place and inquire into the circumstances, with positive orders to demand instant restitution, and in case of refusal, to destroy to his utmost every vessel there, as well as to carry destruction over the whole place, and, at the same time, I have assured him of the co-operation of all His Majesty's forces on this station. I trust, at the same time, that the Inhabitants of Barataria, consulting their own interest, will not make it necessary to proceed to such extremities. I hold out, at the same time, a war instantly destructive to them, and, on the other hand, should they be inclined to assist Great Britain, in her just war against the United States, the security of their property, the blessings of the British constitution; and should they be inclined to settle on this continent, lands will, at the conclusion of the war, be allotted to them in His Majesty's colonies in America. In return for all these concessions on the part of Great Britain, I expect that the direction of their armed vessels will be put in my hands (for which they will be remunerated) also the instant cessation of hostilities against the Spanish government, and the restitution of any undisposed property of that nation.

"Should any inhabitants be inclined to volunteer their services into His Majesty's forces, either naval or military, for limited service, they will be received; and if any British sub-

ject, being at Barataria, wishes to return to his native country, he will, on joining His Majesty's service, receive a free pardon."

It is evident that Sir W. H. Percy, in concert with Colonel Nicholls, did not choose to consider the "Inhabitants of Barataria" in any other light than belligerents against Spain. It certainly did not suit his purpose to acknowledge them as "pirates and bandits."

The British commander had seized a favorable moment to address John Lafitte, whose brother had been arrested, chained, and locked up in the most secure room of the jail of New Orleans. John Lafitte was supposed to be uneasy at the fate awaiting his brother, and his men exasperated at the capture and harsh treatment of their beloved chief. But, in reality, John Lafitte and his companions knew very well that there were not to be found in New Orleans chains, locks, bars and jail walls strong enough to retain long captive Pierre Lafitte, and they were not in error, for not much time elapsed before the prisoner was again free on the shores of the Bay of Barataria.

But, before the release of Pierre, the British officers had arrived at Barataria, and on their landing were astonished to meet with considerable hostility from those whom they had come to visit. They were protected, however, by John Lafitte. What passed between that chief of outlaws and the British emissaries is thus related by Major Latour, who knew John Lafitte personally, having served with him under General Jackson, when at last his repeatedly offered assistance was accepted, and who may have heard from his own lips all the details of that interesting interview.

"When Mr. Lafitte," says Latour, "had perused these papers, Captain Lockyer enlarged on the subject of them, and proposed to him to enter into the service of His Britannic Majesty, with all those who were under his command, or over whom he had sufficient influence; and likewise to lay at the disposal of the officers of His Britannic Majesty the armed vessels he had at Barataria, to aid in the intended attack of the port of Mobile. He insisted much on the great advantage that would thence result to himself and his crews; offered him the grade of captain in the British service, and the sum of thirty thousand dollars, payable at his option in Pensacola or New Orleans, and urged him not to let slip this opportunity of acquiring fortune and consideration. On Mr. Lafitte's requiring a few days to reflect upon these offers, Captain Lockyer observed to him that no reflection would be necessary respecting proposals that obviously precluded hesitation, as he was a Frenchman, and of course now a friend to Great Britain—proscribed by the American government—exposed to infamy—and had a

brother at that very time loaded with irons in the jail of New Orleans. He added that, in the British service, he would have a fair prospect of promotion; that having such a knowledge of the country, his services would be of the greatest importance in carrying on the operations which the British government had planned against Lower Louisiana; that as soon as possession was obtained, the army would penetrate into the upper country, and act in concert with the forces in Canada; that everything was already prepared for carrying on the war against the American government in that quarter with unusual vigor; that they were nearly sure of success, expecting to find little or no opposition from the French and Spanish population of Louisiana, whose interest, manners and customs were more congenial with theirs than with those of the Americans; that, finally, the insurrection of the negroes, to whom they would offer freedom, was one of the chief means they intended to employ.

"To all these splendid promises and these ensnaring insinuations, Mr. Lafitte replied that in a few days he would give a final answer—his object in this procrastination being to gain time to inform the state officers of this nefarious project. Having occasion to go to some distance for a short time, the persons who had proposed to send the British officers prisoners to New Orleans went and seized them in his absence, and confined both them and the crew of their pinnace in a secure place, leaving a guard at the door. The British officers sent for Mr. Lafitte; but he, fearing an insurrection of the crews of the privateers, thought it advisable not to see them until he had persuaded his captains and other officers to desist from the measures on which they seemed bent, representing that besides the infamy that would attach to them if they treated as prisoners persons who came with a flag of truce, they would lose the opportunity of discovering the extent of the projects of the British against Louisiana, or the names of their agents in the country. While endeavoring to bring over his people to his sentiments, the British remained prisoners the whole night—the sloop of war continuing at anchor before the Pass, waiting for the return of the officers. Early the next morning Mr. Lafitte caused them to be released from their confinement, and saw them safe on board their pinnace, apologizing for the disagreeable treatment they had received, and which it had not been in his power to prevent."

*Charles Gayarré*

## THE WEBSTER SPELLING-BOOK

### ITS CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

When Noah Webster was in Sharon, Ct., a hundred years ago, beginning what was to be a great career, he undoubtedly did not imagine what his little makeshift of school-teaching would, in time, lead to. One of his perplexities, as he told Gov. Smith, was the difficulty he had in teaching his scholars to spell. This difficulty induced him to project a book which should make the acquirement of orthography easier, and also reduce the teacher's toil and trouble with his pupils. If this absolute and impressive need had not occurred, or if Webster's first pupils had been, by some unusual circumstance, spellers of phenomenal excellence, the line of authorship which Webster began might not have occurred to him. He did, as it was, drift backward at one time to his legal studies and practice, but the need and possibility of a successful spelling-book, which was followed by the grammar and dictionary, finally fixed his career as that of an author.

But it was not altogether the fault of his pupils that they could not readily learn to spell, nor of the spelling-books which preceded Webster's, which were no doubt capable of receiving great improvements. It was in some measure the fault of the English language itself—its unphonetic, irregular, and anomalous form. So Webster's task was not only to provide an easier way to learn to spell, but to make easier spelling. Many of his first amendments of our orthography were more sweeping than anything which had been attempted before, and some of them he quietly abandoned in due time. His work, however, in simplifying English orthography was a most valuable one, and needs no additional encomium here.

Mr. Webster must have fully resolved upon his purpose of printing a spelling-book while in Sharon; \* for, soon after leaving that town, he was to be found in Philadelphia consulting eminent persons on the subject, and receiving encouragement from Mr. Madison and others in behalf of his scheme. In 1783 he published at Hartford his "First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language," adding to it in the course of two years the second and third parts. The first part "was the basis of the

\* A considerable part of the preliminary work was undertaken while he was in Sharon, although Webster's biographers, knowing that it was first made known after he left that town, refer back no farther than to the date of its publication.

spelling-book which he afterward published," and the grammatical feature was kept up until 1803. In his preface to "The American Spelling-Book," printed over that date, he says, in enumerating certain changes then established, that "the abridgment of grammar is omitted," because there are separate books devoted to that branch, and

"It is believed to be more useful to confine this work to its proper objects—the teaching of the first elements of the language, spelling and reading. On this subject the opinion of many judicious persons concurs with my own."

Webster says further in this preface—what seems interesting now—that

"'The American Spelling-Book, or First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language,' when first published, encountered an opposition which few new publications have sustained with success."\*

But he congratulated himself that it has "maintained its ground, and its reputation has been gradually extended and established, until it has become the principal elementary book in the United States." It had gone all over the country before that date; and rival spelling-books which are not now heard of, were then copying its spelling-tables and following its general plan, to be lost eventually in the race with it. In 1813 five million copies had been sold.

Among the books which the Webster Spelling-Book was to displace was "Dilworth's New Guide to the English Tongue." This was imitated by Webster in part. Mr. Scudder says that this English book was the model on which he at first simply put his improvements, and adds that "even in externals there is a similarity. The early editions of Webster had a dim, hacked-out engraving on wood of Noah Webster, Jr., Esq., to correspond with the scarcely more refined portrait of Tho. Dilworth, which prefaces the 'New Guide.'" Webster imitated Dilworth also in using selections from the Psalms, and in the employment of fables. The first sentence in the original Webster, "No man may put off the law of God," was also the first in Dilworth's. Webster thought it useful to print such a word as "Abracadabra," but did not retain Dilworth's more astounding "Abelbethmaacah."

The frequency of illiterate pronunciation must have been alarming, to make some of Webster's early cautions necessary, which Mr. Scudder calls "sharp little warnings† in the form of foot-notes. Thus *ax* is reprobated

\* An old gentleman in the neighborhood from which I write, who greatly disliked Webster's changes in English orthography, on seeing many years ago a new Webster's spelling-book in his little grandson's hands, took it speedily away from him, and tradition says it was never seen afterward.

† Noah Webster, by Horace E. Scudder, page 39.



when *ask* is intended; Americans were to say *wainscot*, not *winchcott*; *resin*, not *rozum*; *chimney*, not *chimbly*; *confiscate*, not *confiscicate*." But these directions only appeared in the early copies, and were soon dispensed with.

In one of his early prefaces Webster says: "One great advantage in using the book" now offered, "is the simplicity of the scheme of pronunciation, which exhibits the sounds of the letters with sufficient accuracy without a mark over each vowel. The multitude of characters in Perry's Scheme," he continued, "renders it far too complex and perplexing to be useful to children, confusing the eye without enlightening the understanding." Webster's plan was to make a natural division of the syllables, with a direction for placing the accent, instead of addressing to "young minds" a minute and endless repetition of characters." He also arranged his spelling-tables so as to show the manner of making derivative words, transformed the spelling of Indian geographical names from the French to the English method—as, for instance, "Wisconsin" for "Ouisconsin"; "Waubosh" for "Ouabasche," now still better spelled "Wabash," etc. It is one of his merits that he used very plain and perspicuous language in his explanations; and he felt, along with the author of the "English Reader," that his selections, which were to be read, must do something more than accomplish their direct purpose—they must also impart "just ideas of religion, morals and political economy."

There is no doubt that all this author aimed at in these respects was well done. His skill, learning and industry made the spelling-book one of the most noted school books that ever existed. It is doubtful if any other book designed for schools has had a quarter of its circulation. None that is now current goes back so far. Its evolution will be, therefore, interesting.

It was not born all at once, but like Topsy, it "grewed." The oldest copy I have before me is dated 1828.\* It had then dropped its synopsis of Grammar and was titled as follows: "The American Spelling-Book; containing the Rudiments of the English Language, for the use of Schools in the United States." The copyright of the book had now been running eleven years, and in 1829 it passed through a revision so thorough that a new name was given it, and a new copyright was secured. It appears from this time forth as "The Elementary Spelling-Book, being an Improvement

\* Since this article was written I have seen a copy of Webster's American Spelling-Book of the date of 1819, which does not differ from the one of 1828, except that the book is bound in a leather cover, and the wood-cuts are a little different. They have in this older copy different borders, with some slight variations in the *ensemble*.

on the American Spelling-Book." The first copy I have of this new edition bears date of 1834. It is noticeable that the book has now achieved substantially its final form, as it has been known and quoted and remembered for nearly fifty years. In subsequent years from this date you will see a few changes, but they are slight, and of detail merely.

The tables now so long familiar, such as that on the twenty-fifth page, beginning with "Baker," are the same to-day in every important feature that they were fifty years and more ago. But the matter of the pictures is a varying note; in some years they were given, and in some they were omitted, which necessitated, of course, some new text in their place. I find that nearly all the plates of the copy printed in 1834 coincide with that copyrighted in 1880, the variations occurring in the last twenty or thirty pages. The Elementary Spelling-book gave more readings than its predecessor, which had none until it reached the forty-third page. That wonderful picture of Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, with her lofty and dignified cap (I suppose it was she, though when a boy it bewildered me not a little), taking a young aspirant by the hand and pointing, with her right arm upraised, to the two temples of Knowledge and Fame in the distance, everybody will remember. It served, and still serves, as a frontispiece; and dates back, I think, to 1829. It was a picture which I have pored over for hours on the school bench, wondering how those rocks and precipices could ever be surmounted which stood so gloomily in the way of the coveted journey. In the book, as now published, this picture is given in a little more artistic form, with two or three slightly different touches in the background and foreground; but it seems to lose in interest as much as it gains in quality by the change.

The copy of 1828 has a number of selections of poetry toward the end of the book about "The Rose," "The Lamb," "The Bird's Nest," and "On a Goldfinch Starved in his Cage," intended for advanced scholars. The first is the well-known poem in the English Reader, but its first verse is given with the names of Julia and Emma substituted for Mary and Anna, with some other changes which must have come from an imperfect copy; or the names might have been chosen to please some of the author's intimate acquaintances, or to honor members of his own family. "The Lamb" was not Mary's "little lamb," but another less funny and more pathetic.

It has pleased me to note that in the "American Spelling-Book," in a list of towns given (which was not reprinted in the "Elementary Spelling-book"), Mr. Webster has signalized his interest in Sharon, where his first studies for the book were begun, by using Sharon and its adjacent towns,

Amenia, Kent, Salisbury and Cornwall as instances for pronunciation — which he would hardly have done had they never been in proximity to him.

In speaking of the alternate appearance and disappearance of the fables and their accompanying cuts, I



NOAH WEBSTER'S MILKMAID.

[A modified version of Anderson's original wood-cut.]

should have said that they were not always precisely the same from year to year. But you were always sure when any appeared, to find the one "Of the Boy who Stole Apples" and "The Country Maid and her Milk-Pail." This last seemed to me particularly pathetic. I always felt profoundly sorry for that milkmaid. She was a little too much elated and imaginative, perhaps, and she was building a very big castle on a somewhat diaphanous basis. But it was, after all, only the pardonable luxury of idle revery. The fable was different from those most familiar to us, too, by having the moral drawn very solemnly as a preface to the story; and this moral was not at all the one that would have occurred to me. The most obvious and valuable lesson, I used to think, was, that it would be better to carry a pail of milk with your hands, instead of trying to balance it on your head. The boy in the apple tree, however, seemed to richly deserve his fate.

There is such a deliciously antique flavor in the fable of the country milkmaid that its repetition here, I trust, will be pardoned; but I omit the prefatory moral:

"A country maid was walking very deliberately with a pail of milk upon her head, when she fell into the following train of reflections: 'The money for which I shall sell this milk will enable me to increase my stock of eggs to three hundred. These eggs, allowing for what will prove addle and what may be destroyed by vermin, will produce at least two hundred and fifty chickens. The chickens will be fit to carry to market about Christmas, when poultry always bears a good price; so that by May Day I cannot fail of having money enough to purchase a new gown. Green—let me consider—yes, green becomes my complexion best, and green it shall be. In this dress I will go to the fair, where all the young fellows will strive to have me for a partner; but I shall perhaps refuse every one of them, and with an air of disdain, toss from them.' Transported with this triumphant thought, she could not forbear acting with her head what thus passed in her imagination, when down came the pail of milk, and with it all her imaginary happiness."

The fables in the edition of 1828 are, (1) "Of the Boy that Stole Apples," (2) the one above given, (3) "The Fox and the Swallow," (4) "The Cat and the Rat," (5) "The Fox and the Bramble," (6) "The Bear and the Two Friends," (7) "The Two Dogs" (this is the story of poor Tray), (8) "The Partial Judge," and (9) "The Boy who went to the Woods to Look for Birds' Nests when he Should have Gone to School." The last one, probably, while the teacher's whip was in sight, as it usually was half a century ago, was impressive enough without a picture; and so it stands, unillustrated, on the naked enormity of the crime itself.

In the oldest edition which I possess the fables used are Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, preceded by three pictures on The Dog, The Stag, and The Squirrel, which are simply described. The pictures accompanying these fables are entirely made over to conform to a different style of art.

There was one edition, at least, of the spelling-book, published about thirty-five years ago, which, like the old "Farmers' Almanac," had running pictures at the top of each page, the text being unaltered beneath them, except that it was compressed so as to give the needed space for this addition. For some reason these border pictures were soon abandoned, and never again made their appearance.

Very few can tell, I presume, the artist that made the strictly simple and now very interesting wood-cuts that hold for us still, as in amber, the remembrance of that green silk dress the milkmaid never got, the beaux she did not see in order to jilt them, and the discomfiture of poor Tray for being found in bad company, and all the rest. But this artist, nevertheless, was a very remarkable man. He was Alexander Anderson, the first craftsman who undertook wood engraving in this country. He was born in New York in 1775, and died in Jersey City in 1870, lacking only five years of rounding out a full century of busy life. He began his art work when he was only twelve years old, picking up his trade by observing how jewelers and other workmen did their work, and using for his first efforts some old plates of copper and type metal. In after years, when he heard of the method of the celebrated English engraver Bewick, he adopted for his use boxwood blocks, and had to invent and make his own tools, as none could be procured in this country.

The pictures in Webster's Spelling-Book were the earliest, or among the earliest, things he did in this way, and they are not to be despised to-day. Of course wood-engraving has made wonderful strides since Anderson began it, and he lived long enough to see its advanced possibilities. But if merit were to be tested by a comparison of the fable-pictures now given with those produced by Anderson at the very first, I am not sure but he

would gain the palm. The old farmer who is pelting the boy down from his apple-tree is a much more vigorous character in Anderson's engraving, and the spilled milk seems far more real and effective as he represented it in the fable following. The old ensemble of the pictures is more pleasing, and the ornamental borders that Anderson gave have now an added interest.

Anderson did much other work besides this, and was at one time an editor, and also studied medicine with success; but it is doubtful if he ever did anything in all his long life that has had a more profound influence than that which went so long from him through the covers of the spelling-book.

In the old "American Spelling-Book" there was a great deal said in the sections to be read, about the duty of school children, after the following style :

"A good child will not lie, swear nor steal. He will be good at home and ask to read his book; when he gets up he will wash his hands and face clean; he will comb his hair and make haste to school; he will not play by the way, as bad boys do.

\* \* \* \* \*

"As for those boys and girls that mind not their books, and love not the church and school, but play with such as tell tales, tell lies, curse, swear, and steal, they will come to some bad end, and must be whipt till they mend their ways."

The culture of school manners was also dwelt upon, and gives force to a remark (exaggerated to secure due emphasis) made by an elderly man on the contrast between the manners of school children in the olden time and those of the Young America stamp. "When I was boy at district school," he said, "and a traveler went by on the road, all the scholars who were in sight were obliged to bow and raise their hats. Nowadays if you pass a school-house you are lucky if you escape the salutation of a brick-bat."

In the spelling-book of fifty or more years since we read some sentences that sound curiously now, as, for instance :

"Some of the streets and shops of New York are illuminated by gas-lights."

This is amended now so as to apply to all streets and shops, the electric light not being noticed. The item of specific news on the same page, which says that "the blowing up of the Fulton at New York was a terrible disaster," since it has passed out of memory, is now made to read, "The blowing up of the steamship," etc. Where it is said that "Ladies wear bracelets on their arms," the word "sometimes" is now inserted, but nothing is said of bangles. A few sentences that had a special



theological flavor in the older books have given place to sentiments that are equally useful and less offensive.

Although the Webster Spelling-Book is not now so common in the New England and Middle States as it was thirty years ago, and in many places has entirely disappeared, the trade in it does not abate. As long ago as 1847 the claim on the cover was "One Million Copies are Annually Sold," and precisely the same claim is made by its publishers to-day. But the great bulk of the edition now, I think, goes to the South and West. The aggregated sales, from the beginning of its publication down to date, amount to the astonishing number of 75,000,000 copies!

The hundredth birth-year of a school-book, still in successful life, is not an ordinary affair. But this year the friends of Webster's Spelling-Book can celebrate that anniversary: Few among those that are now happening are more worthy of honor.

But what pleasant memories remain with those who long ago studied Webster's Spelling-Book! The very pages in their precise form are pictured for us on indelible tablets. It was a great triumph when the young student got to "Baker," for it was the first step away from monosyllables. But it seemed like a long road to him before he would get to "immateriality" and "incomprehensibility." How or when he was to do it seemed incomprehensible enough then. Those who, in beginning to read, discovered that "She fed the old hen," "Ann can hem my cap," "Fire will burn wood and coal," "A tiger will kill and eat a man," and other similar facts, little thought that in all their after life nothing they might learn would ever seem so touching and significant.

On this little book, by whose aid we have since read the historians, novelists and poets, and been inducted into fields of various learning, there rests now a gleam and fascination that no poet or novelist can give, or ever gave. It seems like that light that never was on sea or land. It is the twilight halo tinting the first far boundary of youth; and restores now a little glimpse, almost, of a pre-existent world.

Joel Benton

## SOMETHING NEW OF BENEDICT ARNOLD AND HIS DESCENDANTS IN ENGLAND

Bishop Kip, of California, born a Knickerbocker, published some years ago in Putnam's Magazine, two very interesting papers entitled "New York Society in the Olden Time" and "Traces of American Lineage in England." These papers were subsequently enlarged and published in book form and dedicated to Edward Floyd DeLancey. The tone and character of the articles are indicated in a sentence in the dedication: "It harmonizes with the spirit of this work to place on this page the name of one who now represents in this country the loyal and chivalric DeLancey of 'the olden time.'"

These papers contain graphic pictures of a state of society in the colonial period, gone to return no more. Society had elements of the picturesque in those early days, in the days of the De Peysters, the Van Cortlandts, the Kips, the early Jays, the De Lanceys, which are not to be found in these commercial and in material things far more prosperous times. The families named, and the Livingstons, the Morrisises, the Van Rensselaers and others in New York and on the banks of the Hudson, the Schuylers and the family of Sir William Johnson on the Mohawk, were all great land holders and formed a landed gentry of high social rank, and they were in their day the leaders and rulers of the commonwealth. Hereditary landed property in the colonies was then invested with dignity, and its holders occupied a position similar to the English country gentleman. The landed proprietor was the "patroon" and his privileges on his manor were similar to those of a baron of England. The "seat" of the Livingstons on the Hudson was a princely residence and the family exercised a generous hospitality. Here Louis Philippe was entertained in a way he gratefully remembered after his elevation to the throne. Here La Fayette and his son were made welcome, and here the last of the Penns connected by marriage with the Livingstons were often guests. Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, with his daughter and a suite of forty persons were entertained as in a palace of the Old World. In 1780 the old house erected in 1655 by Jacobus Kip, was occupied by Colonel Williams of the 80th royal regiment, and there on the evening of the 19th of September, a grand dinner was given to Sir Henry Clinton and his

staff in honor of the unhappy André on the eve of his departure to confer with Benedict Arnold the traitor.

Bishop Kip, in the papers referred to, says, "The aged owner of the house was present, and when the revolution was over described the scene, and the incidents of that dinner."

"At the table, Sir Henry Clinton announced the departure of André the next morning on a secret and most important expedition, and added, 'Plain John André will come back SIR John André.'"

But poor André did not "come back." "Nine days more," says Sargent in his *Life of André*, "and the darling of the British army, the youthful hero of the hour, dangled from a gibbet."

Among the old families of which the bishop writes so kindly and with as much sympathy, and almost as eloquently as Sir Walter Scott did of the cavaliers, was the Philipse family. The old Philipse Manor House at Yonkers is still standing. "Here," says Lossing, "the lords of Philipse Manor lived in a sort of feudal state for almost a century." "Beverley" near West Point, belonging to the Philipse estate, the headquarters of Arnold at the time of his treason, is in perfect preservation. It is a roomy old mansion with a wide hall running through the center, with rooms opening from the hall on each side, a staircase on one side with broad landings, and some interesting old carvings. In this hall Arnold with his young and beautiful wife, Hamilton and others of the staff of Washington, were quietly sitting at breakfast when a horseman galloped to the door, and placed in the hands of Arnold the letters announcing the capture of André. The tragic scene which followed—Arnold's wonderful coolness and presence of mind—his escape and Mrs. Arnold's frenzy are well known. Philipse adhered to the crown, and his large estates were confiscated. "Beverley" was purchased several years ago by Gov. Hamilton Fish, whose country home "Glencliffe" is on a part of the old Philipse domain.

A married daughter, Mrs. W. E. Rogers, and husband reside at "Beverley," and the house is kept in the same condition, as near as may be, as when occupied by Arnold.

The writer lately visited this interesting old mansion, so associated with the dramatic events of the revolution.

Beverley Robinson, of Virginia, who had been a schoolmate of Washington, married the daughter of Philipse. He too was a loyalist high in the confidence of Sir Henry Clinton, and it was through him and André that the correspondence between Clinton and Arnold was carried on. "Beverley" had been the home of Col. Robinson after his marriage, and there

is little doubt that he and Arnold met before André came up the Hudson in the Vulture.\*

While wandering over the picturesque scenes in the neighborhood of Beverley the writer recalled the inscription on the monument to Frederic Philipse, in the venerable old cathedral at Chester, in England. Dean Howson and the writer were looking over the monuments in the Old Minster when the Dean paused and said—

"Here is a monument to a countryman of yours, an American loyalist, who died in Chester." And he then read the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of  
Frederick Philipse, Esq.

late of the Province of New York, in whom the various social and religious virtues were eminently united. The uniform rectitude of his conduct, commanded the esteem of others—whilst the benevolence of his heart, the gentleness of his manner secured their love. Firmly attached to his Sovereign and the British Constitution he opposed at the hazard of his life the late Rebellion in N. America; and for this faithful discharge of his duty to his Kings country he was proscribed and his estate (one of the largest in New York) was confiscated by the usurped legislation of that Province. When the British troops were withdrawn from New York in 1783 he quitted a Province to which he had always been an ornament and a benefactor and came to England leaving all his property behind him. Which reverse of fortune he bore with that calmness, fortitude and dignity which had distinguished him through every former stage of life. He was born in New York the 12th day of September in the year 1720 and died in this place the 30th day of April 1783, aged 63 years."

Such was the esteem in which he was regarded from the English standpoint. Those who have seen his large estate on the Hudson will realize how much he sacrificed to his honest but mistaken sense of duty.†

Speaking of Benedict Arnold, Bishop Kip says, "He went to England,"

\* See Life of Benedict Arnold, his Patriotism and his Treason, page 278.

† Near by, in the cathedral of Chester, is a monument to another American, whose descendants still occupy a portion of the domain of their ancestors, in the county of Otsego, New York.

To the memory of  
George Clarke of Hyde, Esq.  
Who was formerly  
Lieutenant Governor of New York.  
and afterward became  
a resident of this City.

He died Jan. XII, MDCCLX. Aged LXXXIV  
And was interred in this Chapel.

and Americans know little of his after life. The good bishop asks, "Have not some of our readers wished to know the subsequent history of the Arnold family, and whether 'the sin of the father was visited on the children to the third and fourth generation'?"

"We turn," says he, "to Burke's 'Landed Gentry,' and under the name of Arnold find the history of the family."

"Here," says the bishop, "we have the whole story from the 'arch-traitor down to his grandson.'" He adds: "The family has been enabled to take its place among the English landed gentry, and to hold it to the present time."

The four sons of General Arnold, by his second wife, were all educated as soldiers, and served with distinction in the British army. The second son, James Robertson, served during the long wars against Napoleon. He was present at the surrender of Malta, and engaged in the capture of Aboukir Castle, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt. He was the military aid and secretary of King William IV.

The sons of Arnold were all men of unblemished character, of nice sense of honor, keenly feeling the disgrace of their father, whose memory and military fame they cherished. They idolized their mother.

William Trail Arnold, a grandson of Benedict, was captain of the Fourth ("King's Own") Regiment, and was killed at Sebastopol, May 5, 1855. Lord Raglan, in his dispatch, speaks highly of his bravery and his services.

Rev. Edward Gladwyn Arnold, another grandson, married April 27, 1852, Charlotte Georgiana, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. His present residence is Great Massingham Rectory, in Norfolk county. He has a large family; one son a lieutenant in the British navy, and two sons at Cambridge. Great Massingham Rectory is some three miles from "Houghton," one of the country seats of the marquis. Houghton is a magnificent country house, erected by the great Sir Robert Walpole, and completed in 1735. The rectory and church at Great Massingham, the home of the Rev. Gladwyn Arnold, are among the most beautiful in England. The church is of stone, very old, and the tower has been standing eight hundred years. The rectory, with the glebe of some forty acres, stands apart from the quaint old village of Great Massingham. It is placed back some distance from the highway, and is surrounded and almost hidden by a luxuriant hedge of hawthorn some twenty-five or thirty feet high. The structure is covered with ivy, climbing roses and honeysuckles. At the time of the writer's visit, in June, 1881, it was a mass of beautiful and fragrant flowers. A green lawn, with groups of grand old oaks, beeches and elms, with a fruit and flower garden, surrounds the house. In this



flower garden were blooming, most profusely, a great variety of roses, and all the old English flowers. Near the lawn was a plantation of evergreens, and shaded walks with tennis and croquet grounds, shaded by some of the finest beeches in England. A meadow pasture, with sheep and Jersey cows, and through the openings in the foliage could be seen the towers of the old church, to which there was a foot-path across the fields.

Mr. Arnold is a graduate of Oxford, a cultivated gentleman, and evidently a devoted Christian and priest. The congregation on Sunday was made up mostly of laborers and farmers, the ruddy-faced and sturdy squire, in his short breeches, with his plump and rosy daughters, were conspicuous.

The services were simple and reverent. The sermon by Mr. Arnold was plain, and not written. He has a fine, clear voice, and read the service with great earnestness and effect. All his family, including Lady Charlotte, joined in the singing, his daughter playing the organ. One of his sons, destined for the church, and at home from Cambridge for the vacation, assisted his father in reading the service. Sitting with his family of lovely children, fine types of English beauty, and listening to the beautiful ritual of the prayer-book, as humbly and reverently read by a grandson of Benedict Arnold, suggested novel reflections.

Great Massingham is in the Fen country, and near the scene of Charles Kingsley's "Hereward, the Last of the English." The village is very old, and quaint, and quiet, and modern changes have not yet reached it. It is the old English hamlet that we read of. Everybody you meet takes off his hat to you.

Walking out early one morning, I met Mr. Arnold with a basket on his arm, in which were wine and fruits from his garden, and other delicacies. He told me he had been visiting some of his sick parishioners. "The country clergymen," said he, "must minister to the bodies as well as the souls of their flock."

His son, Lieutenant Arnold of the navy, is evidently "a jolly good fellow"; has been all over the world, can sing a good song, and tell a good story. He is a fine specimen of the young Englishman, who can be found, here and there, all over the world, full of life and vigor, who would face death by war or storm without flinching, and very likely with a jest. One of those who make it a point to meet whatever comes—grave, gay, or fearful—with the same imperturbable spirit.

Mr. Arnold has carefully preserved the papers of his grandfather, and many mementoes and relics of his family. Among other things he showed me a splendid sword, with gold hilt and scabbard, which were presented to his uncle, Lieutenant General James Robertson Arnold, by the merchants

and bankers of London, when he was a young lieutenant. On the scabbard is the following inscription:

"From the patriotic fund at Lloyd's to Lieutenant James Arnold of the Royal Engineers, for his gallantry and distinguished conduct in storming Forts Leyden and Frederice, in the Dutch Colony of Surinam, on the 30th of April, as recorded in the London Gazette of the 23rd of June, 1804."

In the British Museum I found the London Gazette of that date containing the details of the capture, and Lieutenant Arnold named in the report of the commanding officer as having greatly distinguished himself. It appears that young Arnold had discovered a route by which the forts could be successfully assaulted.

Born in New York in 1781, he was at the time twenty-three years of age. An incident, connected with the storming of these forts, illustrates the character of the young soldier. The danger was so great that the commander preferred to call for volunteers rather than to order his officers to almost certain death. Lieutenant Arnold was among those who volunteered, and he appealed to his commander, saying: "I beg the privilege of guiding and leading this assault. You know the history of my father. No braver man than he ever lived, but he has been bitterly condemned for the affair at West Point. Give me the chance, I beg of you, to do what I can to redeem the name."

His request was granted; he led the storming party, the redoubt and fort were taken, but he fell severely wounded at the head of the troops.

There has been preserved, by the family, a letter he wrote to his mother just before the assault. He had a presentiment that he should not survive, and under the influence of this feeling he wrote to his mother in England a letter so beautiful and touching that I begged permission to use it, and the original now lies before me. These are his words:

"A gloomy moment, my beloved Mother, will arise in the heart even of a soldier when on the eve of glory, or eternal happiness. One or the other shall shortly be mine. If the former, you shall hear of it in a more gay strain—if the latter, let this tell you I am with my Creator.

"A glorious death on the field of battle is a fate of all others to be envied. You will feel it is one fit for the son of my Father. You will not long repine at it. We shall soon meet again. What has life more valuable than a good name? That I shall leave behind me. That, and I fear little else. That little is Sophia's (his only sister), after George (his youngest brother) is properly placed with his regiment: may it contribute to her comfort. For you I feel everything, for myself nothing.

"I have told you before that I have left a dying request with General Lake to endeavor

to procure a continuance of my little pension to our poor girl. A sovereign so beneficent as ours may feel for her and comply. Back it as you can.

"May your other children become a source of happiness to you. I would have tried to be so; I hope hitherto I have been. May you know every felicity you desire. If an interval be left between the fatal stroke, and its full effect, that interval will have been devoted to calling down every blessing on you and yours, here and hereafter.

"The solemnity I now feel, if it be a presentiment, holds out nothing dreadful, all is peace within. I have so lived as to be indifferent when or where I fall, but I would wipe away the tear that starts in your eye whenever you read this. I would spare as many as possible of the drops that I know will fall. Enough, my beloved mother, enough—this is a scene too affecting to think of. Let the idea of my last sensations soften yours.

"Once more, may the eternal God keep you under his everlasting protection.

[Signed.]

"J. R. A."

Very severely wounded, he recovered and had the felicity to receive and place in the hands of his mother the sword before spoken of. He served in the British army for more than half a century, attaining the rank of lieutenant-general, the appointment, as has been stated, of military aid to William IV., and for his gallantry and services received the order of Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and Knight of the Crescent. He died December 27, 1854.

The Rev. Mr. Arnold has carefully preserved the papers, letters, and manuscripts of his grandfather, and they throw much light upon his character. The following letter to Benedict Arnold from Sir Henry Clinton (the original of which, obtained from the Rev. Gladwyn Arnold, is now in the possession of the writer of this paper), has never before been printed. It shows Clinton's opinion of Arnold's motives. Most American historians are careful to state that Sir Henry Clinton, while he loved the treason, despised the traitor. In this letter, it will be observed, written years after independence was acknowledged, he says: "Had I not been persuaded that the negotiation you opened with me, \* \* \* arose solely from principle and a conviction of your error, I certainly should not have paid that attention to it I did." This letter was written in reply to a letter from Arnold, when the latter was struggling with poverty and neglect, and while he was realizing that the "way of the transgressor is hard."

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

AUG. 2, 1792.

*Sir:*

I am honored with your letter of the 23d July and have many apologies to make for not acknowledging it sooner. I have mislaid our correspondence and am therefore obliged to answer from recollection. I am sorry that General Arnold should have occasion to think it necessary to ask my opinion of the motives which influenced his desire of being

reconciled to the British Gov't, and joining the Kings Army. Had I not been persuaded the negotiations you opened with me for that purpose (fifteen months before you actually did join) arose solely from principle, and a conviction of your error, I certainly should not have paid that regard to it, I did; as the being ultimately deceived, at least would have been the probable consequence of my entering into so important a treaty with a person manifestly actuated by interest; and though I have not our correspondence by me I do not hesitate to declare, that you never gave me reason to suppose you expected anything more than an indemnification. That I thought it an act of justice as well as duty to offer you 6000 pounds—not as an indemnification for all your losses, for they had not been ascertained, but I thought it was all I could give in that prudence with which I was obliged to temper liberality. My ideas of your service with the king's troops have been repeatedly communicated to the Secretary of State. I am no longer in a situation to notice or reward them, but I sincerely hope that it will not be long before your conduct will be fully elucidated to your satisfaction, and the motives which influenced it better known, than you seem to think them at present.

I have the honor to be Sir,  
Your most obt and very  
humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

On my return to England I shall have the honor of writing to Mr. Pitt on the subject, or to wait on him wherever he is pleased to appoint. As you have informed me in yours that you thought likely Mr. Pitt might wish to converse with me on your subject, on my return to England, I will if you wish it, either write to him or wait upon him, on the subject you mention whenever he is pleased to appoint me.

The original of the following letter from General Arnold to Governor George Johnston, and Governor Johnston's reply, were furnished me by the Rev. Gladwyn Arnold, and are now published for the first time.

Governor Johnston had been Colonial Governor of Florida, was a member of Parliament, also one of the peace commissioners sent out by Great Britain, to offer terms of peace to the United States in 1778. He held, at the time of this correspondence, an important position in the East India Company.

BENEDICT ARNOLD TO GOVERNOR GEORGE JOHNSTON.

JULY 18, 1784.

Sir:

When I had the honor of waiting upon you yesterday, you expressed a wish that I should explain my political conduct during the late war in America. I therefore take the liberty of enclosing my address to the Inhabitants of America on my arrival in New York, and in addition I beg leave to say, that my sentiments respecting the war were well known to Colonel Phillip Skeene and several other British officers, to whom I declared that my only object was to obtain a redress of grievances, and at the same time I disclaimed any idea of Independence or a separation from G. Britain. These Sir, were invariably my sentiments during every period of the war nor did I consent to join the British Army until I had

received the most unequivocal and positive assurances from Sir Henry Clinton that G. Britain had given up every idea of taxing America; that she wished to extend to her every right and privilege which she enjoyed before the war, and in return only expected her to acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain.

Nor did I, previous to my joining the British Army make any terms for myself, but waiving every personal consideration I ran the risk of both life and fortune by opening a correspondence and co-operating with Sir H. Clinton, and though my fortune was handsome and my prospects flattering I voluntarily resigned the one and sacrificed the other to my wish of rendering the most essential service to both countries by bringing about a re-union. These are facts for the confirmation of which I beg leave to appeal to the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned and from them and every other circumstance of my conduct I presume Sir, that the candid and impartial will allow that it has been uniform and consistent throughout the whole American War; and that on coming to light Americans changing their first object (a redress of grievances) was by no means a sufficient reason or justification in those who supported their cause in changing their principles. I may be censured by some for retaining my command in the American Army so long, but I trust when my peculiar situation and the object I had in view are considered and that it was done at the desire of Sir Henry Clinton and that my command was not attended with any emoluments of consequence, the candid will not think my conduct in that respect culpable, but perfectly consistent with the strict rules of honor. With respect to the numerous publications in America and in this country tending to asperse and injure my private as well as public character, I can only say they are equally malicious and ill founded and are the natural consequence of the decided part which I have taken, and by the advice of those whom I have esteemed my friends, I have treated them with the contempt and neglect which I thought they deserved.

Situated as I am sir, unconnected and unsupported, having nothing to recommend me but my poor abilities as a soldier, I will notwithstanding venture to tender my services to the East India Company provided I am honored with your approbation and patronage, without I shall give up any idea of the matter. I am sensible, Sir it is a favor I have no right to ask or expect. My wish to serve the company faithfully and make some provision for a numerous family is the only apology I can make for the request, and I trust from your honor, politeness and good nature you will think it a sufficient one. Any further explanation or information which you may think necessary I shall be happy to give you.

If I should be so fortunate as to obtain your interest and aid in promoting my wishes, I hope the propriety of my conduct will justify your attention to me, which will be remembered with gratitude.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your most obt. and  
most humble serv't,

B. ARNOLD.

P. S. On Thursday morning I propose to go into the country for sometime and I hope before I go to be honored with a line from you.

B. A.

Gov. JOHNSTON.



GOV. JOHNSTON TO B. ARNOLD.

*Sir:*

Upon my return from the country, I had the honor to receive your very affecting and dignified letter.

It is hardly possible for any person to regard your past conduct with a higher degree of admiration than I do. Whether I consider your prompt and active mind raising others to resist the claims of Great Britain, which struck at the freedom of North America, or your military spirit in carrying those councils into execution in such a variety of scenes, or your generosity in victory or your last bold and difficult attempt to reconcile the interests of the two nations when the cause of quarrel was removed, or your subsequent exertions and active counsels after you had joined the British forces. All these transactions will merit a conspicuous place on the page of History and you owe it to yourself and the virtuous part of mankind that they should be truly and well informed of every particular to prevent the malignity of party spirit from tarnishing a character of so much lustre, which otherwise will undoubtedly be the case, unless this publication is made, when the facts are recent in your own memory, and those who can witness the truth of them.

In resisting the supreme power of a country to which one owes allegiance and in changing during a civil war from a party with whom one is engaged, after they have obtained the object for which they took arms, and are pushing matters in the career of ambition, to the destruction or manifest injury of the community, both of those require the most unequivocal proofs of aggression in the first case, and of interested violence and injustice on the other. I think you are furnished with both: still the explanations are so interwoven with a complicated detail of circumstances that the great vulgar herd, will always be divided in opinion upon them. Under an unsuccessful insurrection all actors are rebels. Crowned with success they become immortal patriots. A fortunate plot holds you up as the saviour of nations, a premature discovery brings you to the scaffold, or brands your fame with dark and doubtful suspicions. My Lord Falkland and General Monk are instances where we may view the best men from the best motives obliged to change sides. It is inglorious in a great mind, who has taken a leading part to retire until the scene is settled, and in the multiplied difficulties in which the most virtuous may be environed, he must trust his conscience for the rectitude of his conduct and appeal to the honor of his life to prove that the general good was his motive.

Although I am satisfied of the purity of your conduct, the generality do not think so. While this is the case no power in this country could suddenly place you in situation you aim at under the East India Company. For me to effect to, I find would be a matter next to impossible, supposing there did not exist any reasons to expect an opposition from the causes I have mentioned. The supersession of so many of the company's officers, and the several claims of his Majesty's officers who have served with reputation in India, would all stand as obstacles in your way. In this situation of things I can only promise you my co-operation whenever the King's ministers may recommend the measure of employing you, in the service of the East India Company, because I am convinced you are a very superior military character and that it is the interest of every community whose existence depends on force to obtain such men, but I can by no means engage to take the lead in proposing it, or to act in so disingenuous a part as to flatter you that in the

soundings I have made, I can perceive any sanguine hopes of success if it should be tried. I am with the strongest sentiments of esteem and respect

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient  
and humble servant,

GEO. JOHNSTON.

Kensington Gore, 21 July, 1784.

It is obvious that Johnston regarded Arnold as a man of heroic character, a sort of viking, half sailor, and wholly soldier and a hero everywhere, a man who in India would have exhibited the heroic qualities of a Clive or Warren Hastings.

*Houghton Hall.*

After spending an evening in reading the foregoing letters, and in looking over many others relating to the Revolution and from persons then prominent in public life in England, we arranged for a visit on the next day to Houghton. This is one of the great country seats of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. The Marquis, a man of eighty years, was with his family at "*Cholmondeley castle*" in Cheshire.

Our party consisted of the Rev. Mr. Arnold, his brother-in-law, the Rev. Bryant Burgess, the writer, and a little daughter of Mr. Arnold, aged eight, a perfect type of English beauty. Mr. Burgess is a graduate of Oxford, an amateur artist of considerable merit, a fine scholar and a very agreeable gentleman.

The county of Norfolk around Houghton abounds with old ruins of Saxon, Danish, and Norman origin. Castle-Rising, Castle-Acre, Hunstanton and other old places are in the neighborhood. Sandringham, the country seat of the Prince of Wales, is but a short distance away. Houghton was built by Sir Robert Walpole, so long the Prime Minister of England. In magnificence it ranks as the first house in the county. Including the colonnades its principal front is 450 feet long. The park is flat but abounds in fine timber, with noble specimens of oak, elm, beech and linden. Some idea of its extent may be obtained from the fact that in a great storm in 1860 one thousand cedars of Lebanon were blown down. "But," said Mr. Arnold, quoting the old saying, "'It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good.'" The wood of the interior of my old church had become very old and worm-eaten, and those fallen cedars furnished timber for rebuilding the entire interior, so that now, from roof to floor every piece of wood is of the cedar of Lebanon."

In a book I found in the library at Houghton, it is said "Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister to Queen Anne, and to George I., and George

II., was the eighteenth male of his family in a lineal descent, which may be traced from Reginold de Walpole, who lived at the time of the conquest." The estate is said to have come into the family of Walpole at the time of Henry the First.

Portraits on the walls verify the remark of Archdeacon Cox, that when Sir Robert was married, he and his wife were called "the handsome couple."

On the death of Sir Robert, first Earl of Orford, Houghton descended to his eldest son, and grandson, and the latter dying without issue, to Horace Walpole, as distinguished in letters as his brother was in statecraft.

The estate came into the hands of Cholmondeley by marriage.

Horace Walpole, writing from "Houghton, March, 1761," says: "Here I am at Houghton, alone! Think what a cloud of reflections! Mr. Grey, and forty 'church-yards' could not furnish so many." . . . .

"Every clock that strikes from yonder tower, tells me I am an hour nearer to yonder church-yard; that church-yard where lies my mother on whom I doted, and who doted on me." . . . . .

"There, too, lies he who founded its greatness, to contribute to whose fall—all Europe was embroiled—there he sleeps in quiet and dignity." . .

"I strolled into the garden. In days past I hated Houghton and its solitude, yet I loved this garden." . . . . .

"Houghton, I know not what to call it, a monument of grandeur or a ruin! How I could preach to Lord Bute this evening."

The Marquis of Cholmondeley is a very religious man, very evangelical. Around the walls of Houghton are hung up conspicuously on tablets texts of scripture, like those in a Sunday school room, in the places of worship of Moody, the revivalist.

It is curious that a grandson of Benedict Arnold, should be showing an American over the house from which, in 1777 Horace Walpole wrote, "Gen. Swaggere (Burgoyne) is said to be entrenched at Saratoga. I question whether he will be left at leisure to continue his commentaries. One Arnold is mighty apt to interrupt him." (See letters of Horace Walpole, v. 7, p. 7.)

In Dec., 1777, rumors of the battles of Saratoga had reached England, and Walpole writes further, saying: "Burgoyne is said to be wounded in three places, and his vanquisher Arnold is said to be dead."

Unfortunately for the "vanquisher" of Burgoyne, the rumor of Arnold's death was not true. Killed at Saratoga, Arnold would have been the idol, as he is now the devil of American history.

The century which has passed since Walpole styled Arnold the "Vanguisher" of Burgoyne, with the perspective of a hundred years, shows the decisive character of that battle, and confirms the historian Cresey, in designating Saratoga as one of the fifteen great battles of the world.

It has been often said that in the battle of the 7th of October, in which Arnold, wishing to place himself speedily at the head of some fresh troops, dashed down between the American and British lines exposed to the fire of both, that he was drunk, that he acted like a mad man. The evidence of his drunkenness was his rash personal exposure and his reckless dashing courage.

He certainly acted on that occasion like a mad man. But his madness was directed against the enemies of his country, and he went against them like a thunderbolt. His charge through the British lines and into their entrenchments may have seemed like madness, but he carried his enthusiastic soldiers with him, and drove the enemy from the field, until as he leaped over the embankment he was shot from his horse.

If the charge of drunkenness on that occasion had been made to Washington the general would have replied as Lincoln did when a similar charge was made against Grant: "I wish some of my other generals would exhibit the same evidence of intoxication."

If Schuyler had not been superseded by Gates, Burgoyne's capture would have been an "unconditioned surrender," and his troops would not have been permitted to return to England, in exchange for fresh soldiers sent over, in their place, to fight against Washington.

Arnold and Morgan led the American troops and did the fighting at Saratoga, and if Schuyler, Arnold's faithful friend, had remained in command, it is doubtful if the infamy at West Point would have ever blackened the pages of American history.

*Isaac N. Arnold*

## THE YANKEE

AN ANTIQUE PUBLICATION

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

Is there in any private or public library a file of *The Yankee*, a spirited republican newspaper, which was established in "the town of Boston" about the year 1811? I have one copy which I found many years ago at the old homestead. It bears the address of my father, who was a stanch Jeffersonian republican, and a regular subscriber to the paper at the time. This number is dated December 10, 1813. In size it is twenty by twenty-seven inches, and of a yellowish tint, no doubt originally; it is now still more yellow from age, but mainly in a good state of preservation. It is a four-page sheet, with five columns to the page. So interesting have its contents appeared to me that I have thought a brief synopsis and extracts from some of them might be acceptable to the general reader. On the first page, credited to the *Aurora*, and filling nearly three columns, is an "account of the great battle of Dresden, one of Bonaparté's masterly strokes in the art of war [says the *Baltimore American*, from which the article is copied], giving a vivid picture of that horrible conflict, wherein 400,000 men were engaged, and where at least 50,000 of them were left dead or wounded in the groves and gardens of that city." This battle was fought on the 26th and 27th of August. As soon as the coalesced powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia appeared in line on the heights in front of Dresden, the French army, under the Emperor Napoleon, prepared to receive them behind the entrenchments. The Prussians, occupying the center of the line, opened the attack at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th "with a tremendous cannonade, which was followed and continued from the whole front, directed to a concentric point from their vast circle. Never before was there an attack so tremendous or formidable in every respect." The French reserved their fire "until their assailants appeared within a few yards, when a terrible fire was opened and kept up along the whole French line," the battle raging with great fury for some time, when at length "the assault was abandoned in panic; the flight was general and in the utmost disorder, and night saved the coalesced powers from total destruction. The Prince of Lichtenstein alone succeeded in rallying and carrying off a part of his division in some order. The night partook of the destructive char-



acter of the day; it was tempestuous and dark; torrents of rain poured down the whole night and the next morning. The discomfited army had collected and endeavored to organize their corps. \* \* \* But the Emperor Napoleon was on the field of battle at 4 o'clock in the morning;" the Austrians "were attacked in flank and rear" by a division of cavalry, under Ney and Victor, which had been held in reserve, and the whole resisting force, "consisting of six divisions of Austrians, were routed with dismal slaughter. Marmont, with the King of Naples, pursued the Prussians with the like effect," and soon "the whole of the coalesced armies were put to flight," and the battle ended.

Prominently on the same page appears an advertisement of "the Board of Managers of the Washington Monument Lottery" of Baltimore, offering "a premium of \$500 for the best design, model or plan for a Monument to the Memory of General Washington, proposed to be erected in this city [Baltimore], accompanied by an estimate of the cost of its execution, not exceeding \$100,000."

Next follows this item, touching the special tax levied toward the expenses of the war then being prosecuted by the United States against Great Britain:

*Collectors of the Direct Tax for Massachusetts.*

Hon. Nathaniel Morton, Jr., for Bristol County. Orchard Cook, Esq., for Lincoln County. Albert Smith, Esq., for Plymouth County. Hon. Ebenezer Seaver, for Norfolk County. Woodward Storer, Esq., for Cumberland County.

In a separate paragraph further on it is stated that "Wm. P. Preble, Esq., is appointed a collector for the County of York, District of Maine." [He was afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of Maine, and also minister to the Hague.]

The first inside page opens with an article from the *National Intelligencer*, "briefly passing in review a few of those matters" which the editor thought would "prominently present themselves to the view of Congress" at the then approaching session. Among these was the right of naturalization, and the question of retaliation against the British government. The seizure and imprisonment of American citizens by the enemy demanded "prompt and vigorous retaliation." But recently forty-six American officers had been seized "under pretense of retaliation, and committed to close prison." "In supposing this (the right of naturalization) to be made the subject of discussion (says the editor), we presume, of course, that the Opposition will, as they have uniformly done on all such questions, make the cause of the enemy their own, and combat in his behalf. This conclusion cannot be deemed uncharitable, since it is deduced from the history of ten

years past; a reference to which will show, that the Federal party have most invariably defended his conduct, except, only, where they dared not defend it, and then they have palliated its atrocity. \* \* \* Another measure, directly relating to the present war, which will force itself on the attention of Congress, is that of putting a stop, in some way or other, to the traitorous intercourse with the enemy, the extent and profligacy of which become every day more and more notorious."

We have next quite an extended and thrilling account of a battle between a detachment of the United States army, 2,000 strong, under Gen. Jackson and the Creek Indians, "1,100 at least," of whom 278 were left dead on the field, while our loss was 15 killed and 85 wounded, among the killed being Lieuts. Moore and Burke, and Larkin Bradford, brother-in-law of Col. Carroll, who "led the advance in handsome style. Col. Lauderdale of the cavalry was wounded in the leg; Col. M'Crory's left arm broken; Col. Pillow shot through the body [wonder if he was father of the late Gen. Pillow of Mexican fame?]; and Maj. Boyd's right arm was broken." This victory was regarded as "one of the most decisive nature," since of 1,000 or over of the enemy engaged "not more than 300 are now able to bear arms against us." The writer further remarked: "Had it not been for want of provisions, and General White's army not coming on, we could have gone on and finished the war, with the destruction of the whole nation in 20 days."

The following observations of the *National Intelligencer*, in further allusion to matters likely to come before congress, are worthy of note at this time:

"The recent subjugation of the Northern Indians, and the origin and progress of the war with those in the South, will, we should think, force conviction on the minds of our legislators, of the necessity of a change in the policy heretofore pursued towards those infatuated wretches, of courting their amity, and subsidizing their forbearance. We have warmed the adder in our bosom, and he has stung us in return. Let the serpent's teeth be drawn. Let all the savages, now no longer treacherous fiends but conquered foes, be compelled to retire beyond some fixed boundary, and there amongst each other practice that deceit and treachery which ought never again to be trusted to our injury."

"From Plattsburgh, Nov. 29," we have the following:

"Several days ago Gen. HAMPTON left this place and his army, very suddenly and unceremoniously; but at that time it was not known he had been arrested by Gen. WILKINSON, for disobedience of orders in the late campaign. Should he be acquitted on trial, I think he will not be employed any more by the government, as he has become very unpopular with both armies.—I am glad, on the whole, that they have gone into winter quarters; for the taking of Montreal this fall, is, in my opinion, a matter of little importance; because, if the war continues, the ultimate object of the United States must and will be Quebec.

Our army, therefore, when it shall have been sufficiently augmented to invest that city, can move down from where it now is, and take Montreal in its way. If Congress does its duty this winter, by giving such wages to recruits as will induce a sufficient number of them to step forth immediately and join the army, the next campaign down the river St. Lawrence will be a brilliant one, and redound to the honour and greatly to the advantage of the United States."

Next comes an "*Extract from the General Order of Gen. Wilkinson, of the 13th Nov.*":

"The troops are to embark without loss of time yet are not to be hurried in leaving the Canadian shore, from whence the Commander in Chief is compelled to retire, by the extraordinary, unexampled, and it appears unwarrantable conduct of Maj. Gen. HAMPTON, in refusing to join this army with a division of 4,000 men under his command, agreeable to positive orders from the Commander in Chief, and as he has been assured by the Secretary of War, of explicit instructions from the War Department. Thus deprived of a large portion of his promised force, the Commander in Chief feels himself bound by a sense of regard to this meritorious corps, and of sacred duty to the United States, to spare the lives of brave men, and not to hazard the character or interests of the nation, by an unequal conflict. He with lively regret and the deepest mortification, suspends the destined attack upon Montreal. But he assures this army that it is not abandoned."

Following the above is the "*Latest news from the Essex Frigate*," brought to Newport, December 4, by the ship *Criterion*, Captain Clark, in 82 days from Tulchuana, coast of Chili, to the effect that "the Frigate *Essex*, Capt. Porter [the present Admiral Porter's father] had captured during her cruise on the Leeward Coast, and at the Gallapagos Island, eight English whale ships," giving their names.

*Battle of Williamsburgh.*

General John P. Boyd, who commanded in the battle of Williamsburg, 11th November, sends to Major General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief, a detailed account thereof, from his "Camp near Cornwall, Nov. 12, 1813." The rear division of the army, consisting of detachments from the first, third, and fourth brigades, was placed under the command of General Boyd to protect the flotilla from the enemy, and as they were about to move down the river St. Lawrence, and form a junction with the main body below, word was brought to him "that a body of about 200 British and Indians had advanced into the woods that skirted our rear." The order was at once given to dislodge them, and "after a short skirmish, they were driven back to the position of their main body, which was forced to retire more than a mile before the resolute and repeated charges" of our troops, made in the face "of a heavy and galling fire." "The fight now became more stationary," and it was kept up with great vigor "until our brigade first engaged, having expended all their ammunition, were directed to

retire," and the enemy offering no further resistance, the fight was not renewed. Of the officers engaged under, and mentioned by, General Boyd, were Generals Swartwout and Covington; Colonels Coles, Pierce, Preston, Swift, Gaines, Ripley, Walback, Johnson, and Upham; Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall; Majors Morgan, Grafton, Gardner, Beebe, Chambers, Woodford, Malcolm, and Cummings; Captain Irvine; Lieutenants Smith, Worth, and Whiting. "General Covington, whose readiness to enter the field was an earnest of his subsequent activity, received a mortal wound while leading his men on to a successful charge. His fate will perpetuate the memory of the plain, which has been crimsoned by his blood." Colonel Preston and Major Cummings were both severely wounded, and Lieutenant Smith was killed. The general awaited reports of the several chiefs of brigades for the names and number of killed and wounded in their several commands. Fort Covington took its name in honor of General Covington. Recently, having shown to Sir William Richards, of Ottawa, this account of the battle of Williamsburgh, he said that marks of it (buck-shot holes) were yet visible on the walls of an old barn still standing on or near the field of battle. He also remarked that General Covington had been relied on to lead the contemplated attack on Montreal.

Here are a few of the more interesting items of news:

NEW YORK, Dec. 4, 1813.

The Hon. DE WITT CLINTON, our Mayor, having transmitted to Com. PERRY the resolutions of the Common Council of this city, expressive of their high sense of the services he has performed, has received an affectionate answer from the Commodore, in which he says: "The request to sit for my portrait, to be placed in the Gallery of Portraits of the Common Council, is too high an honor not to be readily complied with."

#### *Letters from Washington.*

The federal Editors in Boston have fallen so low in public estimation, that not one federal Member of Congress can be found to correspond with them. The public have been heretofore so much bewildered by the famous *Quincy* letters, calculated to feed rebellion and treason, and bring about a dissolution of the Union—*peaceably or forcibly*. The people seem disposed to receive the Congressional Proceedings from the regular reporters. —Yet notwithstanding this disposition, we learn that some of our common-sewer Editors have engaged a person (now gone on to Washington), to write letters to Boston, to keep up the delusion a little longer. A very feeble attempt in a very bad cause.

[From this it would appear that Mr. James Brooks and Mr. N. P. Willis were not, as it has generally been stated they were, the earliest newspaper correspondents from the capital.]

#### *Retaliation.*

In consequence of orders from Government, the Marshal of this District has seized all

the British army officers at Worcester, eleven in number, and put them in close confinement; in part retaliation for the forty-six American officers imprisoned by the British. The full complement will be made up in other places. *This looks well.*

### *Tribute of Respect.*

A Public Dinner was given to Commodore Bainbridge, in Philadelphia, on the 2d inst., at which were present all the naval and military officers in the city; and a very large concourse of the most respectable citizens.

A Public Dinner has been given at Baltimore to Lt. M'Call, of the Navy.

The republican citizens of New York have given a splendid Dinner to Gen. *Harrison*, the hero of the West and reconqueror of Michigan.

### *Ordination.*

The ordination of the REV. FRANCIS PARKMAN, as Pastor of the New North Religious Society in this town, took place on the 8th inst. The solemnities on the occasion were peculiarly appropriate, affectionate and interesting, and were as follows, viz:—Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Lowell. Sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Channing; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Kirkland. Charge, by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop. Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Tuckerman, of Chelsea. Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Hurd, of Lynn.

A brief sketch of Commodore Perry, from the *Norwich Courier*, comes next.

"Com. OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, who, by his late brilliant achievement on Lake Erie has secured to himself the proudest niche in the Temple of Fame, is the eldest son of Christopher Raymond Perry, Esq., formerly of Newport, Rhode Island, but for some months past a resident of this town. \* \* \* The importance of the victory is immense, and the public joy on this occasion has been completely and unequivocally manifested by the sound of artillery, the chiming of bells and brilliant illuminations from one extremity of the country to the other.

"Commodore Perry has three brothers also in the navy, two of whom are lieuts. on board the President; and the other, the youngest, about 13 years of age, was on board the Lawrence serving as a midshipman in the late glorious battle, and was the only one of that class of officers who was not either killed or wounded! It seems, in fact, almost a miracle that in the midst of such horrible carnage, when so many gallant fellows took their way to the 'world of spirits,' both the brothers should escape unhurt.

"Commodore Perry is now but little more than 28 years of age, having been born in August, 1785. He was married, a few years since, to a very beautiful and accomplished young lady—Miss Mason, daughter of the late Dr. Mason, of Newport, by whom he has one son."

There follows a touching obituary of James Broom, first lieutenant of marines on board the Chesapeake, who, at "about 24 years of age, was killed in the action with the Shannon on the 1st of June. He was the son of Major Abraham Broom, of Wilmington, Delaware. His brother



Charles, about 18 years of age, was also a lieutenant of Marines, then serving with Commodore Chauncey on the Lakes, and giving promise "of being an ornament to his profession, having, to use the expression of his gallant commander in relation to him, 'a veteran head upon young shoulders.'"


*"Naval Anecdotes.—Victory on L. Erie."*

The *Gleaner* gives the following from two men of Capt. Thomas' company, which, Nov. 26th, had just returned "in safety to their families and friends" at Wilkesbarre, Pa.

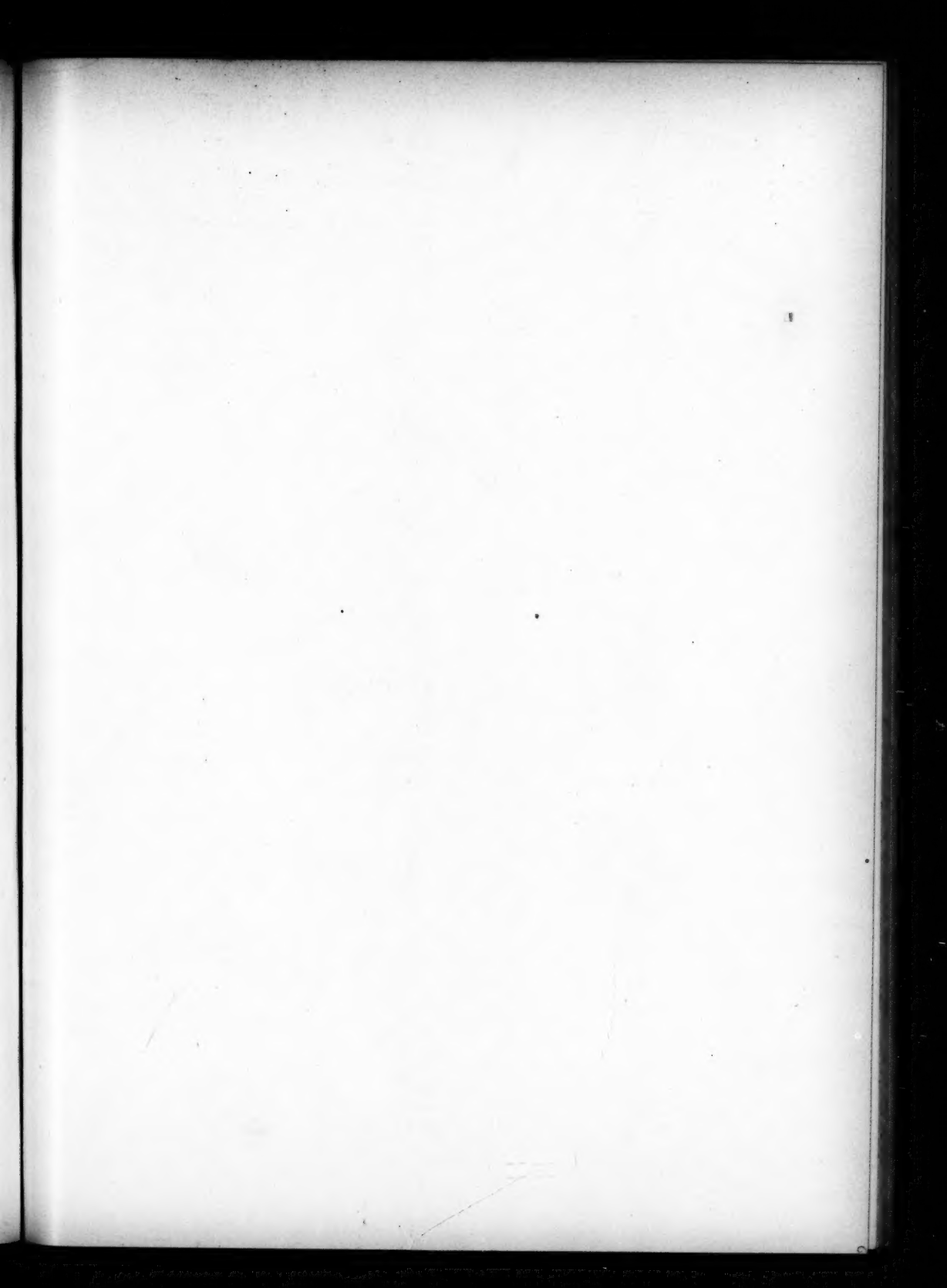
"B. Hall was on board the [name of vessel omitted] in the heat of the battle, the last remaining sponge of their long and principal gun happening to fall into the lake. The gun would have been rendered useless—Hall plunged into the waves and caught it—his comrades seized the end of the sponge and drew him on board, and they poured away again into the enemy."

"James Bird, son of Mr. J. Bird, of Exeter, was on board the Lawrence with the gallant Perry on the glorious 10th of September. The battle raged—many a poor fellow fell around him. Bird did his duty like a hero. Towards the close of the engagement a canister shot struck him on the shoulder as he was stooping to his gun. He was instantly covered with blood, and his officer ordered him below. He ventured to disobey, preferring to do duty while he had life, to abandoning his post. But the blood flowed so fast, that another order was issued to go below. He ran down, got a hasty bandage on the wound, came again on deck, and although his left arm was useless, yet he handed cartridges and performed the utmost service in his power with his right, until the stars and stripes waved gloriously victorious over the foe."

The usual notices of marriages and deaths fill half a column, and there are over four columns of advertisements, in which "Plymouth Beach Lottery" figures conspicuously. The two plays advertised for Friday, Dec. 10th, were "a much admired Comedy in 5 acts, called WHO WANTS A GUINEA?" and "the popular Operatic Drama in 3 acts, called, LODOISKA, OR THE CAPTIVE PRINCESS."

 Doors to be opened at 5, and curtain to rise at 6 o'clock precisely."

*Horatio King*





SIR HENRY CLINTON.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addison Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY\*

INTRODUCTION.—Under date of London, February 25th, there appeared in a New York news-paper, toward the end of February, 1882, a letter, from which the following are extracts:

"The inquiry frequently made by historians of the Revolution as to 'What had become of Sir Henry Clinton's books and papers,' has at length, one hundred years after his supersession as the chief command of the British forces in America, received an answer, though unfortunately an incomplete one. Descending from father to son, through several generations of Clintons, a volume or document dropping out now and then, all that was left of the Clinton collection has at last found its way to the auction room. The sale of this important remnant, rendered more valuable by reason of what has probably been lost, will be marked as a memorable event in the record of notable sales of 'Americans.' Carelessly and unappreciatively catalogued, the fifteen or twenty important lots of the sale were knocked down at prices far less than they would have realized in Philadelphia or New York, where such a sale would have created a perfect furor, and where, instead of a brief contest between a few booksellers, historical societies, and private collectors, booksellers' numberless would have joined in a fierce and protracted battle for possession." \* \* \* \* "There were some very important manuscripts relating to Clinton's military operations in America. '*Private Intelligence, beginning January 20th, 1781,*' and '*Information of Deserters and others not included in Private Intelligence.*' The first consisted of 150 pages of closely written matter on small folio paper, and the second about 100 pages in a volume of the same size. A pencil note, written by one of the Clinton family, says, in reference to each of these manuscripts, 'I think in Sir G. Beckwith's hand.' Whether this be the case or not, the writing bears indisputable evidence of having been written from day to day as information came into headquarters through the agency of spies, deserters, or friends of the Tories, whose names in some instances are attached to the entries." \* \* \* \* "It should be mentioned that the Clinton collection was sold under the title of 'The Library of the late Colonel Henry Clinton, partially collected by General Sir William Henry Clinton;' but among the books (about 300) there were some with autographs, or book plates, of Captain Clinton, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, 1737-41, G. Clinton, Fred. Clinton, and some lady members of the same family."

Some one of the "few booksellers" present at this auction sale in London, however, with an eye to business, bought an Atlas of MS. Maps used by Clinton in his march from Philadelphia, a MS. letter containing Clinton's personal account of the march, a set in two volumes (vo. of Washington's official letters, annotated by Clinton, and the two folio manuscripts above described, and sent them to America on speculation. These were offered at auction in New York, in May, 1882, and the two latter were then purchased by their present owner, Dr. Thomas Addison Emmett, the eminent physician, learned student of American history, and the indefatigable collector of all that is valuable relating to America. Believing that at this late day—a century after—all that would really throw light on the American Revolution on either side should be made accessible to the student

\* At the editor's earnest request, and with Dr. Emmett's ready permission, Mr. Delancey consented to prepare the introduction and notes to this "*Private Intelligence.*"



SIR HENRY CLINTON.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY\*

INTRODUCTION.—Under date of London, February 9th, there appeared in a New York newspaper, toward the end of February, 1882, a letter, from which the following are extracts:

"The inquiry frequently made by historians of the Revolution as to 'What had become of Sir Henry Clinton's books and papers,' has at length, one hundred years after his supercession in the chief command of the British forces in America, received an answer, though unfortunately an incomplete one. Descending from father to son, through several generations of Clintons, a volume or document dropping out now and then, all that was left of the Clinton collection has at last found its way to the auction room. The sale of this important remnant, rendered more valuable by reason of what has probably been lost, will be marked as a memorable event in the record of notable sales of 'Americana.' Carelessly and unappreciatively catalogued, the fifteen or twenty important lots of the sale were knocked down at prices for less than they would have realized in Philadelphia or New York, where such a sale would have created a perfect furor, and where, instead of a brief contest between a few booksellers, historical societies, and private collectors, booksellers numberless would have joined in a fierce and protracted battle for possession." \* \* \* \* "There were some very important manuscripts relating to Clinton's military operations in America. '*Private Intelligence, beginning January 20th, 1781,*' and '*Information of Deserters and others not included in Private Intelligence.*' The first consisted of 150 pages of closely written matter on small folio paper, and the second about 100 pages in a volume of the same size. A pencil note, written by one of the Clinton family, says, in reference to each of these manuscripts, 'I think in Sir G. Beckwith's hand.' Whether this be the case or not, the writing bears indisputable evidence of having been written from day to day as information came into headquarters through the agency of spies, deserters, or friends of the British, whose names in some instances are attached to the entries." \* \* \* \* "It should be mentioned that the Clinton collection was sold under the title of 'The Library of the late Colonel Henry Clinton, partially collected by General Sir William Henry Clinton;' but among the books (about 300) there were some with autographs, or book plates, of Captain Clinton, Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, 1737-41, G. Clinton, Fred. Clinton, and some lady members of the same family."

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and the historian, Dr. Emmett very courteously placed the manuscripts at the disposal of the editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* for publication. Of the other "Clintoniana" above mentioned sold in May, 1882, the "Atlas" went to the Library of Congress, the "MS. Letter" to a buyer unknown, and the "Washington's Letters" to an eminent historical scholar of the City of New York.

The catalogue of that sale thus speaks of Dr. Emmett's two manuscripts: "They consist of the information which came in day by day to headquarters. The two volumes comprise about 250 pages of manuscript. There is an amount of detailed information in these papers regarding the Americans, which is astonishing in its minuteness. There appears to have been plenty of men ready to enlighten the British."

The manuscript of "Private Intelligence" has been carefully copied verbatim, and is now printed precisely as written, with the solecisms in grammar, orthography, and spelling (which are few), in the original. The only change is in printing the headings of the different statements, letters, &c., in italics, they not being underscored in the original. This is done for convenience in reading, and referring to them.

It is simply one of the manuscript volumes of the British Headquarters Records, beginning January 20th, 1781, and extending to the July following. Those before it and after it, if in existence, remain to be discovered. When Sir William Howe turned over the command to Sir Henry Clinton at Philadelphia, in June, 1778, the headquarters records came into the latter's possession. When Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, in 1782, he seems to have carried off all he could to England, aware that his conduct of the war would be fully investigated, to say nothing of his disagreement with the minister Lord George Germaine, and his personal quarrels with Admirals Arbutnot and Graves, and Lord Cornwallis, which would require all the documentary and written evidence he could collect to sustain himself. What portion of these records Carleton did come into possession of, on arriving in New York, with those during his own command, are still in existence, it is understood, in England. In due time it is hoped that copies of all will find their way back to New York and to the scrutiny of historical students.

As this "PRIVATE INTELLIGENCE" begins with the revolts of the Pennsylvania and the Jersey Lines, a brief statement of the situation in January, 1781, will make the matter more readily understood by the reader. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, 1780, Washington issued instructions, from his headquarters at Preakness, New Jersey, to Brig.-Gen. Wayne to place the Pennsylvania troops in winter quarters at Morristown, huts for the purpose having been there begun by Colonel Craig. The brigade of the Jersey Line, he tells him in the same instructions, "will be stationed at Pompton and in the Clove near Sufferns, and will be subject to your general direction."\* The Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island Lines were placed in the Highlands on the east side of the Hudson, the Massachusetts Line at West Point, one New York regiment in garrison at Fort Schuyler and another at Saratoga to protect that frontier, and the remainder of the New York Line were sent to Albany and Schenectady. He established his own winter quarters at New Windsor.† The condition of his army Washington thus states in a letter to General John Sullivan, then in Congress from New Hampshire: "If in all cases ours was one army, or thirteen armies allied for the common defence, there would be no difficulty in answering your question; but we are occasionally both, and sometimes neither, but a compound of both." The State Governors continually interfered in the army matters. Connecticut directed that Sheldon's regiment of horse should go to Massachusetts, though Washington had ordered them to Colchester, Connecticut, and he had to submit.‡ Moylan's regiment of horse was sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This was the position of the

\* VII. Sparks' Washington, 310.

† VII. Sparks' Washington, 313.

‡ VII. Sparks, 332.

American army on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1781. Its wretched physical condition is thus described by Washington in a letter of Dec. 10, 1780, in answer to a letter from Gouverneur Morris suggesting an attack on New York: "Where are the men? where are the provisions? Where the clothes, the everything necessary to warrant the attempt you propose at this inclement season? Our numbers never equal to those of the enemy in New York,—our State lines never half complete in men, but perfectly so in every species of want, were diminished in the field so soon as the weather begun to grow cold by near 2,000 men, on account of clothes which I had not to give, nor ought to have given, (supposing a surplusage) to the levies whose dismissal was near at hand. And now, to prevent the man who is a permanent soldier from starving I am obliged to diminish the levies on account of the provision. \* \* \* \* \* Every ounce of forage that has been used in the latter part of the campaign (of 1780) and a good deal of the provision has been taken at the point of the bayonet; \* \* \* \* \* we cannot despatch an officer or even a common express upon the most urgent occasion for want of the means of support; when I further add—but this is a matter of trivial concern—that I have not been able to obtain a farthing of public money for the support of my table for near two months, you can be at no loss to discover the impracticability of the measure you suggested. \* \* \* \* \* it was with difficulty I could remove the army to its respective places of cantonment (as above given) where it would be well for the troops, if, like chameleons, they could live upon air, or, like the bear, suck their paws for sustenance during the rigour of the approaching winter."\*

Appended to Sir Henry Clinton's "Observations" on Lord Cornwallis's "Answer" to the former's "Narrative," printed in London in 1783, is his own tabulated "view" of the strength in men of his and Cornwallis's armies in 1780 and 1781 and of the American and French armies opposed to them. In this he thus states his own force, "At New York on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1781, after the detachment sent to South Carolina under Gen. Bose, and that to the Chesapeake under Brigadier-General Arnold—11,929 fit for duty;"—twelve thousand in round numbers. In the adjoining column he states, "Continentalists under General Washington in the Forts and their vicinage, after the revolt of the Pennsylvania and Jersey Lines, and the detachments sent to the southward under Generals Greene, La Fayette, and Wayne—6,000."

Thus he had by his own account at this time two men well equipped, fed, and paid, to Washington's one, badly equipped, unpaid, and half starved. Clinton says nothing of the Provincials and New York City companies also under his command, which from all the accounts were from 4,000 to 6,000 more. Washington's estimate of the force under Clinton was 15,000, in all.

Such were the respective positions, forces, and conditions, of the two armies at this period. On January 1, 1781, in the evening, the Pennsylvania Line mutinied, on account of uncertain enlistments, want of clothing, want of pay, depreciation of paper money, and discontent with their officers. The "Lines" of all the States, and especially those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Jersey, were in a similar state of ferment, discontent, and mutinous feeling, but actual revolts were averted in all except those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The general facts are well known. The official documents and letters relating to the revolt are in the second volume of Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, the 7<sup>th</sup> volume of Sparks's Writings of Washington, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of his "Correspondence of the Revolution, the 2<sup>d</sup> volume of Reed's Life of Reed, and some in the "Bland Papers"; and accounts more or less correct are in all American Histories.

This volume has a book plate of the Clinton family arms on the inner side of the cover. And on the opposite first page is written in a large legible hand "Private Intelligence beginning Jan. 20<sup>th</sup> 1781," and quite a distance below it in the same hand "For Sir Henry Clinton." Between these entries is pencilled in a fine small hand "I think in George Beckwith's hand." The writing of the volume is that of a gentleman, not that of a clerk or copyist, and towards the end of the book, to one entry Beckwith signs his name in full, making it certain that he was the scribe. At this time he

was Major of the 37<sup>th</sup> regiment and an assistant adjutant-general. In the British army, it appears that all the secret intelligence was sent to the Adjutant-General, who had the supervision of the Secret Service Bureau, and by whom the intelligence was laid before the Commander-in-Chief. It was in his capacity as Deputy Adjutant, and then Adjutant-General, that André had charge of the correspondence with Arnold and carried it on. The Adjutant-General had under him Assistant Adjutants-General, who were usually aids of General officers. Lord Rawdon was the Adjutant-General of the British Army in 1778, and his deputies were Major Stephen Kemble, a brother-in-law of Gen. Gage, and Capt. Hutchinson. When Howe went to the head of Elk the latter accompanied the army, while Kemble remained in New York to attend to the duties there. After Clinton succeeded to the command and had returned to New York, some letters of Major Kemble severely commenting on his conduct—private ones—fell into the hands of the latter. The result was, that Kemble was permitted to resign, and return to his regiment, the 60<sup>th</sup>, then in the West Indies, and Major André was appointed to the vacant deputy adjutant-generalcy. Col. Sir Charles Stuart was appointed Adjutant-General of the army by Clinton when he dismissed Lord Rawdon. Stuart, a personal friend of Rawdon, refused it, whereupon Major André, who had been performing the duties as Deputy Adjutant since the autumn of 1779, was appointed to the vacant office toward the end of August, 1780.\* After André's execution in the following September, Major Oliver de Lancey, of the 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons (the second son of Brig.-Gen. Oliver de Lancey of De Lancey's Battalions, then commander on Long Island), who was a cousin of Kemble's, and had been made some months before, a deputy adjutant-general with André, was appointed full Adjutant-General\* of the British Army. To him therefore came all the Private Intelligence, and Beckwith and Major Thomas MacKenzie were his Deputies. The first reduced it to form, and it was thus laid before the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton. It is a part of this "*Private Intelligence*" which is here printed.

George Beckwith was the second son of Maj.-General John Beckwith, of a good Yorkshire family, who served with credit in the Seven Years War, by his wife, Janet, daughter of Dr. George Wishart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh.

He entered the 37<sup>th</sup> regiment as ensign in 1771, served with it in America from 1776 to 1782, was made Captain 2 July 1777, appointed aid to Knyphausen in 1779, probably from a knowledge of the German language, and acted as such during the war. He was brevetted Major Nov. 30, 1781, and on July 6, 1782, was appointed aid to Sir Guy Carleton. He was promoted Colonel of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment 21 Aug. 1795, and subsequently rose to the ranks of Major-General and Lieutenant-General. He was made Governor of Bermuda, in 1797, of St. Vincent in 1804, and of Barbadoes in 1808, with the command-in-chief of the British forces in the West Indies. He captured Martinique in 1809, and with it the first French Eagles ever taken by an English General, for which he received the thanks of Parliament and was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath. In 1810 he captured Guadeloupe, the last of the French possessions in the West Indies. He resigned the Government of Barbadoes in 1814 on account of his health, and in 1816 was appointed to the chief command in Ireland, which he held till early in 1820, when he returned to England ill, died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March in that year, unmarried, and was buried amid his relatives in the vaults of Mary-le-Bone Cemetery, London. Four of his brothers were also in the army, the eldest of whom, John Beckwith, of Somerby Park, County Lincoln, Captain in the 23<sup>d</sup> Light Dragoons, married Mary Haliburton, sister of Judge Thomas C. Haliburton of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, and the author of "Sam Slick." The mother of Sir George outlived her son, dying in 1827, at the age of 97.—*Rivington's N. Y. Almanacs* 1779-80. *Army Lists, Gents. Mag.* 1823, vol. I. 327. *Foster's Yorkshire Pedigrees.*

\* II. Political Magazine, 351; Sargent's André, 222 and 227.

*Private Intelligence, beginning January 20th, 1781.*

Gould came in this morning at 10 o'clock from Elizabethtown. On Sunday morning the Jersey Brigade, part of which lay at Pompton, mutinied, and seized two field pieces and joined the rest of the Brigade at Chatham. He saw some of them, whose complaints were about pay, &c. They told him they were determined, unless they got redress, to join the British. One Grant, a Sergeant Major and a deserter from the British army, commands them.

They said they would come to Elizabethtown. The militia are turned out to oppose them, and this morning he heard a very heavy firing and some cannon, and afterwards passing shots towards Elizabethtown by Springfield. A violent storm prevented his coming in before.\*

—Woodroff † says the same—a cousin of his, one Nicholls, is sworn in command.†

*20th—Mr. Potts.*

The mutineers are at Trenton. Three regiments are discharged and gone home to Pennsylvania. One condition insisted on is "That only three officers retain their rank and command: Gen'l Wayne, Col. Stewart and Butler.‡

\* Instantly on hearing of this mutiny, on the 22d Jan., at New Windsor, Washington despatched Gen. Robt. Howe with 1,000 men drawn from the different regiments in the Highlands "to compel the mutineers to unconditional submission," and if he succeeded, to "instantly execute" a few of the most active leaders. On Howe's arrival, on the evening of the 23d, he found that Colonel Elias Dayton and Col. Isaac Shreve, two of the colonels of the mutineers, had been endeavoring to settle the matter by negotiation, and the former had drawn out a pardon which many were disposed to accept, but that a large portion would not. Howe during the night placed his men and guns in four positions: before, behind and on each flank of the mutineers' camp. At daylight he sent Lt.-Col. Barber, one of their own officers, with orders to them to parade at once, but without arms. Hesitating to do this, the force on their left with its gun was ordered to advance, and five minutes were given them to obey. This was effectual. He desired the Jersey officers to select the three they deemed the most guilty leaders—one from each regiment. A field court martial was held, which unanimously condemned them to death, and two of them were executed on the spot, the firing party being appointed from those actively engaged in the mutiny. The third was reprieved, for, though the commanding officer, it appeared he was compelled to act as such, and had endeavored to persuade the men to return to their duty. Howe then ordered their regular officers to parade the men in platoons, and the men to apologize to the officers, which they did, and after an address from the General on the heinousness of their conduct they were dismissed.—VII. Sparks, 363, (note) 380, 563. This ended all revolt in the Jersey regiments, and had a most beneficial effect upon the whole American army.

† This man, naming him, Gordon says (vol IV. p. 22), carried Clinton's proposals to the Jersey line, but finding he was unable to do anything, actually made a virtue of necessity, and gave them to the American officers. This so convinced them of his honesty and patriotism that he was not arrested. It was his "cousin Nicholls" who was the man who was reprieved by Howe.

‡ According to the last return of Wayne's command, dated 11th December, 1780, three weeks before the mutiny, it consisted of 11 regiments of foot, running from 337 men in the strongest to



The Committee of Congress consists of Sullivan, Mathews, Witherspoon and Atly.\*

They sitt at T. Barclay's tavern on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The two men delivered to Wayne by the mutineers were hanged on Friday morning. Washington is at N. Windsor. The militia are collected throughout the Jerseys. Gen'l Arnold has taken Richmond in Virginia, (to which the rebel officers of government removed from Williamsburg) and is on his march for Petersburg. Part of General Leslie's detachment is said to be landed at Edenton in North Carolina.

*Information by Capt'n G. of One of the Massachusetts Regiments.—20th January.*

There is a board of sergeants consisting of fifteen,† who have met a committee of five members of Congress. The method they take to discharge the men is that those who are enlisted for three years are to be discharged. All those whose enlistments are lost are allowed to be discharged upon making oath that they are only enlisted for that time. As no enlistments can be produced, about 800 will get away. He asserts firmly that tho' they are discharged they will not leave Trenton till they are paid in hard money, which they are not likely to get. The militia are out 500 in number, under General Heard, 200 at Elizabethtown, 100 at Woodbridge, and parties all along the coast. They have not voted any men for the war except those already raised, which are to serve only in Jersey. The Jer-

169 men in the weakest, and one regiment of artillery numbering 143, making a total of non-commissioned officers and rank and file of 2,473 (VIII. Pa. Arch. 647). The consolidation, which was to take effect on 1st January, 1781, reduced these to six regiments, a result which left in all the non-commissioned officers and privates and threw out the supernumerary officers. Colonels W. Stewart and Wm. Butler were among the officers retained.

\* "Atlee" is meant here. The "Mr. Potts" who gives this information, omits mention of Bland's name. Sullivan, Witherspoon and Mathews were a committee appointed at "six o'clock" January 3d, the day the news of the revolt reached Congress, "to confer with the Supreme Executor of the State of Pennsylvania on the subject matter of the intelligence received this day." On the 5th Mr. Atlee and Mr. Bland were added to the committee, which was "instructed to act in concert with the President of Pennsylvania, and empowered to take such measures as may appear necessary to quiet the Pennsylvania Line. This is all the mention of the matter in the journals. —*Journals Congress, 1786, and 8.*

† This is the body the mutineers elected after revolting, their commander-in-chief being one Williams, described further on. The Massachusetts Line was in the same fermenting state as the Pennsylvanians. Gen. Glover wrote to Gov. Hancock on the 11th of the preceding December describing it, and told him that unless measures to remedy the discontent at once were taken, "on the 1st January something will turn up," "which your officers cannot be answerable for." IV. Gordon's Hist. 16. Two battalions of Massachusetts troops formed part of the force under Gen. Robt. Howe sent to suppress the Jersey mutiny. It is possible that the "Capt. G" who furnished the above "information" may have belonged to one of them, as he seems to have been so well informed on the subject.

sey Brigade consists of 500 men ; half at Chatham, the rest at Pompton. Mr. Washington has about 500 men with him. Head Quarters at N. Windsor. The Hampshire Brigade are in West Point. The York Brigade stationed in Albany. All the six months men are gone home, except a few who are employed in threshing out wheat about Goshen. Forrage is exceedingly scarce indeed. They have no magazines ; they live from day to day. All their expectations from France have turned out nothing. He heard the French are going to quit the continent. A Mr. R. Morris told this to a gentleman of his acquaintance. The mildness of the season has prevented the expedition to Canada, which is given up. By the last accounts Ethan Allen has not yet joined, tho' much discontented.\*

The Pennsylvania officers say [they] will not serve with such rascals as their soldiers. The revolters have agreed to receive their arrears of pay with the depreciation, and their arrears of clothing, which has been promised them.

Congress leave out all the officers who are prisoners, in the new regiments.

Mr. Adams has orders not to exchange any militia for British prisoners.

*January 20th, 1781.*

*Mr. McFarlan*, who was sent out the 6th with proposals got to Princetown on Wednesday the 10th, where he fell in with Caleb Bruen, who he found after a little conversation had come there on the same errand. They proceeded together to Trenton to which place he found the revolters had removed. On their arrival finding that two men had been taken up, they drop'd their papers in camp which were immediately found and carried to Wayne and Mr. Reed :† and next morning

\* An allusion to the treasonable arrangements of Allen with Gen. Haldiman to join the British.

† Clinton and Washington, oddly enough, received news of the revolt the same day, and the same hour—on the 3d of January, at 12 M., a spy of Wayne's reports the fact as to Clinton, II. Hazard's Register of Pa., 165, and Washington's reply to Wayne of the 3d says, "To-day at noon I received yours of the 2d" with the account of the mutiny. These proposals of Clinton taken by McFarlan, were the second ones he sent, as will be seen further on. Reed thus describes this incident in his letter of 8 Jan., to the committee of Congress:—"A letter similar to the former and wrapped up in sheet lead was dropped this morning before the door where the serjeants meet, which they delivered to General Wayne." Reed's Reed, 327. Clinton, on the 5th January, sent some 5,000 men, under Gen. Robertson, to Staten Island, opposite Perth Amboy, to be ready to receive and protect the mutineers whom he was convinced would accept his proposals and join him. His spies who were hung went by way of Elizabethtown—the others, or counter-spies, whose reports are in this "Intelligence," went by way of Perth Amboy. Washington's first idea was to go at once to Morristown, but on second thoughts, distrustful of the men in the regiments in the Highlands, he consulted his officers, and the decision was to remain ; another reason was that at the time he heard of the mutiny, Wayne, Gov. Reed of Pennsylvania, and a Committee of Congress had begun the negotiations with the mutineers, which ended in their virtual triumph—a result not in accordance with Washington's views. Had Clinton sent his 5,000 men and cut the mutineers to pieces, as a good general would have done, the effect would have been most disastrous to the cause of America. Fortunately, he was, as Sullivan called him, "The Prince of Blunderers."

a reward of one hundred guineas was offered for the person who drop'd them. After the papers were found a Colonel Hayes, who knew Bruen, asked him his business among troops, who had revolted, and that, as he lived out of lines, he suspected he came there for no good. He then went to General Wayne's quarters, on which our informant and Bruen went across the water to Pennsylvania where they saw the execution of the two men,\* and that when they returned next day, they were still hanging there.

They† were commanded by one Williams, who is a Pennsylvanian and has some property. He was taken prisoner the first year at Princetown and enlisted in one of Gen. DeLancey's Battalions under Captain Cunningham,‡ from whom he deserted from Kingsbridge.

There was a Committee of a Serjeant from each Regiment to treat with a Committee from Congress.

All the men that enlisted in the year 1776 for three years are to be discharged. Those for three years or during the war are also to be discharged. The six months men are all gone home.

They are to receive one month's pay immediately, and at Burlington they are to get certificates from people appointed for the rest, to be paid when money can be got. The new money is to be received which now passes current. Those that are discharged are to receive one pair of shoes, one pair of overalls of coarse cloth, and one shirt. They are to give up their arms as they get their discharges. Those that stay are to have their pay and clothing, and are promised great encouragement. The officers are much dissatisfied, as the soldiers in their complaints against them are more credited than they are.

The serjeants of the Committee have appointed three of their number to sit with three of a Committee of Congress.§

In the first Regiment, Col. Chamber's (the only one settled with before he came away) there were only forty men left, but he thinks many will enlist again. They expect money and an order for enlisting.

Mason || who carried the first proposals went to Princetown, and immediately

\* On the morning of January 11th, 1781.

† The Pennsylvania mutineers.

‡ Thomas Cunningham, a captain in DeLancey's 1st Battalion, which, under Lt.-Col. John Harris Cruger, was sent from Kingsbridge to the South, served there, and was part of the garrison under Cruger in his successful and gallant defense of Fort Mifflin against Gen. Greene.

§ This proposition was refused as too derogatory by Gov. Reed. The Congress Committee did not sit with them. Sparks, vol. vii., p. 359, errs in saying that they did. See Hazard's Register of Pa., vol. ii., p. 189; Reed's Reed, vol. ii., 531.

|| John Mason, a sergeant in Odell's regiment, and James Ogden, of South River, New Jersey, of the old family of that name, who went as Mason's guide, were the emissaries of Clinton. They arrived at Princeton on the evening of January 6th, when the scene in the text occurred.

Wayne, in a letter of the 8th, says: "About four o'clock yesterday morning we were waked by two serjeants, who produced a letter from the enemy, enclosed in a small piece of tea lead. They

on his arrival, went to the college, where Williams was. He asked the sentry for the commanding officer and was sent up to his room. He told him he had an express for him—Williams asked him from whence, he says from Elizabethtown. Williams then asked if the enemy were coming which Mason answered in the negative. He then asked "Where do you come from?" The other said from Sir Henry Clinton and produced a piece of sheet lead inclosing a paper, which when Williams had read, he ordered them to be secured, and went with them to a Committee of Serjeants, who agreed to deliver them up to General Wayne, which they did next morning,\* but got them back again. When they marched to Trenton

also brought two caitiffs, who undertook to deliver it to the leaders of the malecontents." VII. Sparks, 359. This letter is given in full in II. Hazard's Reg. of Pa., 167. Its important part is in these words: "They are now offered to be taken under the protection of the British Government, to have their rights restored, a free pardon for all former offences, and that pay due to them from Congress be faithfully paid to them, without any expectation of military service, except it may be voluntary, upon laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance," and it closes by recommending them to move behind Second River, the Passaic, and whenever they request it, a body of British troops shall protect them. It was addressed "To the person appointed by the Pennsylvania Line to lead them in their present struggle for their liberty and rights."

\* Williams being, as above shown, a deserter from the British army, was the last man to receive Clinton's proposals favorably, hence his referring the matter to the board of sergeants. They sent the evening of the same day they were given up to Wayne, and took the men back again. II. Hazard, 188. Gov. Reed went to Princeton, and met the mutineers on parade in the afternoon of the same day—the 7th—to negotiate terms of settlement. In his letter of the 8th, describing the visit, he says: "Some of the sergeants are sensible fellows, but Williams, their nominal leader, is certainly a very poor creature or fond of liquor. They have rejected the propositions offered by Gen. Clinton, and hold the spies in prison. I am endeavouring to get them out of their hands. Gen. Wayne promised 50 guineas apiece to the two sergeants who bro't him the letter Sir Harry sent. You will say it was a great reward; it was so, and perhaps the promise hasty, but it will be best to comply with it. He is very particular in his inquiries when he shall be enabled to perform his promise." II. Hazard, 190. On the 8th, the negotiations which had been going on since the 2d, still continuing, Reed and Wayne again met with the mutineers on parade, during which the two spies were marched by Williams through the lines. Wayne wanted the sergeants to execute them, or that they should request him to sign the warrant, but says Reed, "I was sorry to observe, especially in Williams, an aversion to this and a strong desire to discharge them with a taunting message to Sir Harry Clinton." He, Reed, then suggested that they should be kept under guard for further consideration, but subject to his order. This, after long debates among the sergeants, was acceded to. "Some of the sergeants," he continues, "utterly disapproved the executing them, as it would cut off all benefit of that influence which might be used to advantage in making terms; some were more open on that subject. I fear they will dismiss them to-day or connive at their escape, though we have taken such measures as I trust will hasten their journey to a different place than New York." Reed's Reed, 328. On the 9th,\* at Reed's instance, the whole line marched to Trenton. There the terms finally agreed upon were as follows: 1. To discharge all those who had enlisted indefinitely for the war. 2. To give immediate certificates for depreciation on their pay, and to settle arrearages as soon as possible. 3. To furnish at once specified articles of clothing, of which they were in great need. 4. Oblivion for all offenses. 5. The spies to be given up. VII. Sparks, 359. This ended the mutiny. On the 10th, the spies were tried by court martial, and hanged on the 11th, as stated in the text, on a gallows erected just "above Paddy's Ferry in Pennsylv-

Gov. Reed offered them one hundred guineas, to deliver them up to him. They refused the money at that time and put it to the vote of all the serjeants, and next day they were sent across the Delaware and executed.

This informant describes Mason exactly, and from every circumstance it must be him.

The Pennsylvanians do not intend going home till every man is settled with. They keep the arms of their discharged men in their own possession, and a sentry over them.

A field officer of each regiment is to settle their accounts.

General St. Clair, the Marquis Lafayette, and Col. Proctor came to Princetown. Col. Proctor spoke to his regiment and asked if they would not now fight their enemy; they answered they had long enough fought under him, and were now determined to fight under their own officers, and ordered St. Clair, Fayette and Proctor\* out of town directly. General Wayne wrote a note to the committee of sergeants, requesting leave for them to stay and dine with him. They allowed them an hour, after which they were obliged to go to Morristown. †

Mr. Livingston ‡ and the council were sitting at Trenton when the Pennsylvanians first mutinied. On hearing it they crossed the Delaware, went into Pennsylvania, and back by Pennington, all except Livingston, who stayed behind.

The Pennsylvanians, notwithstanding their determination of being settled with, declared if the British army came into Jersey to take advantage of them, "While they were seeking their rights," they would turn out and fight them as heartily as ever under General Wayne.

vania." Gen. Dickinson to Washington. III. Correspondence of Revolution, 206. The 100 guineas were offered to the two sergeants, who declined to take the money, on the ground that they had acted only by orders of the Board. The money was then offered to the Board, but they also refused it, on the patriotic ground that they had sent the spies to Wayne "Not for money, but for zeal and love of our country." Reed's Reed, 331. Bancroft says, vol. x., 8vo. ed. of 1874, p. 415 (and it is believed the statement has not been changed in any later edition), that the Pennsylvania Line "were composed in a large degree of Irish immigrants," and on p. 415, that the New Jersey troops "next to the Pennsylvania Line included the largest proportion of foreigners," and then glowingly states that "The troops of New England," 20 regiments, "had equal reasons for discontent, but being, "almost every one of them native Americans, freeholders, or the sons of freeholders," they marched through deep snows, and suppressed the revolt. This "Private Intelligence," however, shows that some native Americans and New England officers were in fact British spies.

\* Thomas Proctor, Colonel of the only regiment of Penn. artillery.

† St. Clair, in a letter to Washington from Morristown, dated 7th January, says that he, Lafayette, and other officers came to Princetown to "make trial of what influence we might have," that they were not allowed to have any communication with the men except through the committee of sergeants. While there, Colonel Laurens came up, and very soon after they received notice that their presence was disagreeable, and for their own safety to retire. "Our stay was afterward limited to an hour and a half," when they all left.—VII. Sparks, 96.

‡ Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, and his council.



Col. Craig\* and Col. Chambers† are very particularly dissatisfied—the former burnt his commission.

The Pennsylvanians killed a Captain Talbott; a lieutenant, and ensign were wounded.‡ One soldier was killed the first day. They have Wayne's promise that they shall not be punished for it.

They have four pieces of cannon; they left one spiked at Morristown. Williams says he will not enlist again.

Our informant and Bruen returned on Monday evening, having been obliged to keep up the country till then, on account of the militia having received orders from General Heard to stop all persons who could not produce good passes. They went by Pluckemin and Baskingridge, every boat in the creeks having been taken, which prevented their getting in before. Bruen, who is at Bergen Point, is expected here every moment. He has got some papers of consequence with him.

*Letter from Major McKenzie to Major Delancey at Staten Island, dated New York, January 26, 1781.*

*Dr. Major :*

One Jonas Crane from Newark, left that on Wednesday, and was sent from Bergen Point, at 3 o'clock yesterday, but did not arrive here till 12 last night, and only came to the office at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10. The account he brings is, that on Wednesday while he was at a tavern at Newark, a Col. Courtland§ come in to desire the Major of militia, who kept the house, to call out the militia, but very soon after a Major Cummins,|| and Lieut. Ray,¶ of the 2d N. Jersey Regiment came in and said he need not order them out, as the affair was settled. That it was agreed to appoint commissioners on both sides to settle matters in the same manner as had been done with the Pennsylvanians; they were to meet on Monday or Tuesday at Chatham, for the troops there, and again at Pompton for the

\* T. Craig, Colonel 3d Penna. Regiment.

† James Chambers, Colonel of 1st Penna. Regiment.

‡ The P. S. to Wayne's letter of 2d January, telling Washington of the mutiny, says: "Capt. Billings is killed; Captain Talbot mortally wounded; some others are also hurt."—II. Sparks's correspondence of the Revolution, p. 193.

§ There was no Col. van Cortlandt in the New Jersey Revolutionary Regiments. The person here meant is believed to have been Col. John van Cortlandt of New York, of the "van Cortlandt's of Second River" (Passaic), N. J., whose seat was at Belleville. He was a Whig and the owner of the Sugar House near the rear of Trinity Church, N. Y., used as a prison in the Revolution.

|| John N. Cummins, 1st. Lieut. Second Battn. N. J. First Establishment, 29 Nov., 1775; 1st Lieut. Second Battn. Second Establishment, 29 Nov., 1776; Capt. Ditto, 30 Nov., 1776; Major First Regt., 16 Apl., 1780; Lieut.-Col. Second Regt. 29 Dec., 1781; Lt.-Col. Commandant Third Regt., 11 Feb., 1783.—Stryker's Off. Register of Jerseymen in the Revolution, 66.

¶ Jonathan Rhea (not Ray), Ensign Second Battn. Second Establishment, Jan., 1777, 2d Lieut. Ditto, 1 Apl., 1778; Lieut. Second Regt., 1 Jan., 1781.—Stryker's New Jersey Register, 92.

others who had marched back. Col. Dayton\* was chosen by the troops, for one, on their part. Their demands the same as the Pennsylvanians.—There was no person killed or wounded—There was some firing but the officers said it was when the two divisions joined.—

The above man is gone to Newark and intends to return this evening with two men to Bergen Point. I have desired him to take them immediately to you at Bankers. †

Yours,

T. Mc.

*Extract of a Letter from Jersey, Jany. 26 (to Peter Dubois †).*

*Origin of the Commotions in the Jersey Line.*

A committee of officers from the Jersey Brigades, were with the Assembly endeavouring to adjust matters so as to pacify the soldiers as well as officers; the former not having received any pay for a considerable time, and the depreciated state of the money such that they could do nothing with it in case they got it. This was the situation of matters when the revolution took place with the Pennsylvania line; the officer's committee caught the opportunity and insisted to be

\* Col. Dayton, before mentioned, and spoken of here, was Elias Dayton, Colonel of the Third New Jersey Regiment, subsequently Brigadier-General of the Continental Army, Jan., 1783; served in 1776 under Schuyler on the Mohawk; took part in all the battles in which the N. J. Line was engaged; and commanded the Jersey Brigade after the resignation of Gen. Maxwell, on 25 July, 1780.—Stryker's New Jersey Regt., 63.

† Major DeLancey., the Adjutant-General, to whom this letter of McKenzie's is addressed, had probably accompanied the 5,000 men whom Clinton sent under Gen. Robertson to Staten Island, on the 5th of January, 1781, to encourage and protect the mutineers of the Pennsylvania Line.

‡ Peter du Bois, of the Huguenot family of that name, of Ulster County, N. Y., to whom this letter is addressed, was "Assistant Magistrate" of the "Court of Police," established by Sir Wm. Howe, by his proclamation of 1st May, 1777, in the City of New York. This was *not a Police Court*, as might be supposed from its name, but a military court to try civil causes, created by Howe, as Commander-in-Chief. The regular civil courts in New York were closed by the Declaration of Independence. When the British regained possession, instead of reopening the courts, as the people requested should be done by a petition to the two Howes, the General, and the Admiral, the former adopted a construction of the "*Prohibitory Act*," ch. V., 16 Geo. III., which prohibited all intercourse and trade with the 13 colonies "during the rebellion," by which it was claimed that that act *abolished* and suppressed the civil law and civil courts; and by his own proclamation established a Military Court of Police, and appointed all its officers, thus putting all the rights and property of every name of all the people into the hands of "war judges" and officers, by whom they were robbed and defrauded in the grossest manner, without a possibility of redress. For a full account of the "Courts of Police" and their iniquities see II. Jones's Hist. of N. Y. in Rev. War, chapters VI., VII. and VIII., and notes to those chapters. The "Superintendent," "Deputy Superintendent," and "Assistant Magistrate," as the judges of this "Court" were termed, were Andrew Elliott, the Collector of the Port, David Matthews, the Mayor, and Peter Dubois, to whom the above letter was sent.

paid at 75 for one.\* The Assembly took fright and instantly complied, and likewise ordered all the money then in the treasury to be sent up to the men, with other promises, to quiet them, such as a redress of any grievances they might labor under, discharges for those whose terms were expired, &c., but after waiting some days and finding nothing but promises without performance, and the new money they had received would purchase nothing but rum, they on Sunday came to the resolution of quitting their huts at Pompton, and marched off to join their brethren at Chatham. Some of the officers who had made themselves obnoxious to them they whipped; some of the others remain with them. A Sergeant Major they chose for their commander, and the rest of the officers from among themselves. They remain at Chatham and methods are taken by the officers, who they suffer among them to reconcile matters. Such of them as are entitled to discharges will get them, and the remainder bought off with a little rum, fair promises, and some more money. I cannot learn that their intentions at present are farther than having redress, which they will obtain as far as it is in the power of Congress to grant it.† The Pennsylvania troops remain in their old situation. The committee from Pennsylvania are adjusting matters with them. Those who are discharged, do not go off generally, but seem determined to remain until every matter is rectified, and then go off to gether. Some of them will undoubtedly re-enlist. I do not learn that either party distress the country. They draw their rations. There is no militia of any consequence assembled. They will not oppose them. It's the general sentiment of the country, that the troops are right. I should have put myself in the way of getting every particular and furnishing you with it, but was discouraged by your treatment of J. K. who was so much disappointed, that I shall have trouble to get him to go on some future occasion, unless you can give him assurance that he shall be attended to.‡

To Peter Dubois, Esq.

*January 26th. Intelligence by Col. Robinson.*

Solomon Blinduring§ sent out by Col: Robinson|| to Amawalk¶ and that part of the country upon Monday the 15th inst. returned yesterday afternoon.

He informs, that there are about two hundred Continentals doing duty upon the lines at Croton, and nearly as many militia: the former are commanded by

\* Seventy-five dolls. in paper for one in specie, so great was the depreciation of the Continental and other paper moneys.

† This account was evidently sent to Peter Dubois, before the arrival of Gen. Robt. Howe at the Jersey Mutineers' camp, and his summary suppression of the revolt, as given in the note to the first entry of this "Private Intelligence."

‡ This letter is signed by initials so confusedly written as to be unintelligible.

§ As nearly as the name can be made out.

|| Col. Beverley Robinson.

¶ In the manor of Cortlandt in the northern part of Westchester county, N. Y.

Lieut. Col. Hule, whose quarters are at Captain Delavals,\* and the troops are cantoned all over the country. The Continentals have a pickett of an officer and twenty men at Croton Bridge, and the militia are kept patrolling on both sides of the bridge, and river.

There is another Pickett at the new bridge of an officer and twenty men, furnished by a detachment posted at Haynes House,† which is about three miles further up the North River. This detachment is made from Continental Village, and the men remain generally, two or three days upon this duty.

From Haynes House to the Fish Kill there are about 1,600 Continentals—the principal cantonments are the Continental Village, and the Soldiers Fortune. They have four field pieces upon the east side of the Hudson's River.

There are no troops at Col. Robinson's house,‡ which is converted into a hospital.

It was given out in the country that the troops, which attacked the refugees were destined for Rhode Island. This body was composed of detachments from all the posts in the Highlands. Two Pieces of cannon were brought from West Point for this service, and a third field piece from Continental Village.§

Gen. Washington came with thirty-six dragoons to one Hyatt's about six miles east from Peek's Hills (Peekskill) on the Danbury road (It was said in his way to meet a French general), the day before the troops marched from thence, and he was present when the orders were given to the different parties.

It has been rumored that disaffection prevails amongst the troops, and it was said by friends to government that they would join the Tories in revolt.

*27th January.—Intelligence by Mr J—.*

The Jersey Brigade are gone back to their huts at Pompton on Thursday last

\* This is probably meant for "Capt. Nat. Delivan" or Delavan, of unsavory character, a prominent Whig of Cortlandt's manor, whose house was in the town of North Salem.

† In the vicinity of Peekskill; the "Continental village," spoken of above and in the next sentence, was a little east of Peekskill.

‡ In the Highlands, Arnold's headquarters at the time of his treason, and Washington's after that event.

§ Lt. Col.-Hull, then stationed at Pine's Bridge, proposed an attack on Col. James De Lancey's corps at Morrisania in conjunction with some militia under Colonels Drake and Crane. Gen. Heath sent his request to Washington on 6th January. Washington, in his letter of the 7th, assented. Hull made the attack on the 28th of January with this result, as stated by Thacher (Journal, p. 300): "He bravely forced a narrow passage to the enemy, and besides a number killed, he took upwards of fifty prisoners, cut away the bridge, burnt their huts and a considerable quantity of forage and brought off a number of horses and cattle. \* \* \* The enemy pursued our troops, and fell in with a covering party under command of Col. Hazen, and in the skirmish which ensued they suffered an additional loss of about thirty-five. Of Col. Hull's detachment one ensign and twenty-five rank and file were killed and wounded." See also VII. Sparks. Lt.-Col. Hull was afterward the General Hull of "Hull's Surrender" of Detroit to Gen. Brock in 1812.

about 3 o'clock. The three years men are promised their discharges. These include the whole except about one hundred and fifty who acknowledge their enlistments for the war. All those who cannot produce their certificates their oaths are taken. The officers who commanded them were, one Grant, the second Nicholls, and the third Jno. Minthorn.\* They permit Dayton, Spencer, and Ogden † to command them in future. All the rest they reject. The officers they refuse to serve under declare their sentiments that examples ought to be made of them; but the three above-mentioned oppose it. Those discharged are also to be paid off. On their first turning out they surrounded the house of an officer (whose name he does not recollect) broke it open and forced him with threats of immediate death to give up the muster rolls.

A report prevails that the British troops have marched to the east end of Long Island, expecting some stroke from Connecticut.

The firing which was heard a few days ago was occasioned by rioting among themselves and discharging their pieces, being a little wet.

There is a report that Gen. Arnold is landed in Virginia, and gone one hundred miles up the country burning everything in his way. The people are more incensed than ever.

*January 28, 1781.*

A person sent out says that Gen. Howe with a party of about one thousand of the N. England troops, marched down the night before last to Pompton and met the Jersey Brigade; that he seized upon near sixty, who were lodged in Morristown gaol. That about 100 escaped and took the road to Sussex, and, as is supposed, intend joining the Indians. A proclamation was issued, offering pardon to all who should come in. About 200 came in, in consequence of it. He saw the party putting the prisoners into gaol. ‡ The officers were at Chatham disputing among themselves about the conduct of the men, some saying they were right and ought to be discharged; others the contrary; 20 or 30 said they would resign. The Light Dragoons were sent after the 100 that escaped.

*January 31.*

*Jno McLeod of the 42nd Regiment*, taken prisoner at Valentines Hill the 16th of July last, left Albany the 16th inst—300 troops crossed at King's ferry

\* Perhaps of the New York family of that name. There was one Mangle Minthorn, in New York, who remained after the peace, and who in a subsequent political contest was published as a "tory." See the note to the first entry in this "Intelligence" as to Grant and Nicholls.

† Col. Elias Dayton, above mentioned, Col. Oliver Spencer, of Spencer's Regiment, and Col. Matthias Ogden, of 1st Regiment.—Stryker's New Jersey Register, 64.

‡ Gen. Howe's letters to Washington do not mention these particulars here given. Washington went to "Ringwood," near Pompton, on the 25th January, and his instructions to the commissioners for redressing the grievances of the Jersey Line are dated 27th January, and give his views how they should be settled.—VII. Sparks, 385-387.



to join the Pennsylvanians five days ago—they were commanded by their non-commissioned officers. He heard that three companies stationed at the Clove were surrounded by Gen. Howes (Howe) and taken, and their non-commissioned officers are to be hanged. Ethan Allen has not yet joined the king's troops, but is enlisting men and forming magazines, as is thought for the purpose of joining them soon.\*

The York troops, consisting of five regiments, are under Col. Van Schaick † at Albany. Col. Cortlandt at Schenectady—Dubois at Fort Edward—Gansevoort at Saratoga, and Col. Livingstone at —. The latter is drafted into the others. More than one half of the officers of that line deserted last fall, and still continue to do so. These troops swear the first-time they come into action they will join the Kings troops. There were five French general officers at Albany about six weekes ago. ‡ They had been at the Lakes. It is said they intend building works against fort George, and that an expedition to Canada is intended early in the spring. The Rebels who went away from this province, being refused to send members to the Assembly, are much displeased and want now to be sent into the british lines. § At a meeting held at Rienbeck (Rhinebeck) about three weeks ago for the purpose of choosing committeemen, a Col. Duard [Duerson?] desired all the whigs present to stand by him, when out of forty persons not more than two joined him. Mr. McClelland who lives at Redhook, on the Hudson, is doing everything in his power to assist the friends to government. ||

\* The Vermont treason before referred to.

† Col. Goosen Van Schaick, Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, Col. Lewis du Bois, Col. Peter Gansevoort, Col. Henry B. Livingston.

‡ The Chevalier de Chastellux, Vicomte de Noailles, Count de Dumas, Comte de Custine, and the Marquis de Laval. They also visited Washington at New Windsor in the early part of December, 1880.—VII. Sparks, 319.

§ The N. Y. Whigs permitted none but whigs to vote at elections.

|| How very strong the "friends to government" were in the manor of Livingston and that neighborhood during the revolution is shown by a report of Robert R. Livingston, Matthew Cantine and Zephaniah Platt in the 1st Vol. of the Journals of the Provincial Congress, p. 918, etc. September, 1776. Capt. Johannes Van Duerson (perhaps the very man above mentioned) reported that "all his company, except his lieutenant and himself, are Tories." Ibid. 651.

(To be Continued.)

## MINOR TOPICS

### GENERAL MONTGOMERY'S DOG

The following pathetic story, which is translated from the French of M. Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, whose work, *Les Anciens Canadiens*, is one of the most highly prized native literary productions of La Nouvelle France, may be new to some of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

"Those who would know where the body of Montgomery was carried after he had received his death-blow in mounting to the attack on the city of Quebec (December 31st, 1775), must stop at a small house on St. Louis street, at that time belonging to the widow Gobert, but known to-day as No. 44. It was there that it was laid. Let the visitor continue his walk to the gate of the city (the St. Louis gate), if he is curious to know where the general was interred. Let him then direct his steps towards the Citadel, then let him turn towards the city wall, and he will find himself a few feet from the place where Montgomery's remains reposed until the year 1825, when his body was given up to his family by the authorities of the time. At present, Canada retains nothing of him but the memory of his defeat and his sword, now in the hands of Assistant-Commissary General Thompson, whose father, one of the defenders of Quebec, left it to him on his death-bed." [The sword has since passed to Mr. James Thompson Harrower, Mr. Thompson's grandson.—*Picturesque Quebec*, by J. M. Le Moine, page 101.]

"The rebel Montgomery (Le rebelle Montgomery) had lain in his grave three days, little regretted by the British, whom he had betrayed, and still less by the French-Canadians, whose peaceful dwellings he had burned down in 1759, when he served under Wolfe. Already, perhaps, he was even forgotten by those who a little before had been his friends, when it was perceived that one friend, faithful and devoted above all others, though destitute of reason (?) had abandoned him. My uncle, Charles de Lanaudière, aide-de-camp to Lord Dorchester, was informed that a splendid dog of spaniel breed had lain for three days on Montgomery's grave, scratching the earth with his paws, and uttering plaintive howls whenever any one came near him. Was this faithful guardian of the tomb in his own language imploring the passers-by to recall his master to life, to aid him in clearing away the earth which, as he thought, was suffocating him? Who can say what was passing in his devoted and affectionate breast? He must, indeed, have suffered cruel anguish when he besought the pity of even his master's murderers.

"When M. de Lanaudière reached the place, the dog was crouched close to the ground, his head turned towards the by-standers, whom he regarded with distrust, but without anger. My uncle spoke gently to him in English, and pronounced distinctly the name of his dead master—Montgomery. The poor brute at once raised himself up, and began to howl, as he looked mournfully at the person who accosted him. M. de Lanaudière then approached, and began to caress him, offering him bread and water. Of the latter he hastily swallowed a few drops, and again

lay down on the grave, refusing to take any nourishment. In short, it was not until after a week that, by dint of caressing and feeding him with his own hands, M. de Lanaudière succeeded in coaxing the poor animal away from the grave of the master that he loved.

"'Montgomery' (for by that name he was afterwards called), became a great favorite with his benefactor's family, on the members of which he lavished all the affection of which he was capable. Six or seven months after the incident just related, my uncle was leaving Quebec with his family for the Seigneurie of Sainte Anne de la Pérade, and, before setting out, he gave orders to the servants to have Montgomery shut up for a couple of days. But whether through negligence on their part, or address on that of the dog, Montgomery managed to regain his liberty the same evening. About twelve hours had elapsed since his master's departure, when, at four or five o'clock in the morning of the following day, my aunt was awakened by the barking of a dog, and said to her husband: 'I hear the voice of Montgomery.'

"'You are dreaming, Babet (Elizabeth),' said M. de Lanaudière, 'the dog has never accompanied us hither, and he could not possibly know what route we had taken.'

"'Nevertheless, it was really Montgomery, who, during the night, had followed over a distance of twenty-two leagues the track of his master's horses.'" J. R.

MONTREAL.

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INTERESTING DOCUMENTS.

Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson writes from Moscow under date 25th August, 1883: "In the Imperial archives at Moscow I saw this morning many millions of most ancient and interesting documents, and many comparatively recent MS., a curious correspondence between the Vice-chancellor of Russia and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, who was not received as the first minister to that court from the United States in 1783. The correspondence is now being copied for the archives of the State Department at Washington."

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"THE HAUNTED TREE."

While on a charming drive, a few days since, in old Westchester county, with a lady who has been at home in those parts from childhood, attention was drawn to an immense oak by the wayside, about equidistant between Westchester village and Pelham boulevard, which has long traditionally borne the name above quoted. Several of its huge branches stretch horizontally over the road-path, upon one of which (a dead limb), the story has come down from preceding generations, that a Tory was hung during the Revolution. It has been credulously believed by the country folk, far and near, that this tree is haunted by his ghost. Undoubtedly, one or more Tories of the virulent sort, and, possibly, a patriot citizen or two, met such a fate by a lynch-law process of that critical period. But the object of this

note is to obtain, if possible, through the columns of the *MAGAZINE* the historical warrant, if any, for the aforesaid local tradition with respect to the once judicial office of this famous "haunted" tree—the largest we remember to have seen in the environs of this city, and one evidently of great age.

W. H.

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MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES.

In the year 1842 I saw a very valuable collection of these articles at the residence of Don Juan Wetherell, and he intrusted me with a 12mo catalogue of them, containing several plates, for our Minister in Madrid, Washington Irving. Ford, in his *Hand-book of Spain*, 1855, notices the collection and this catalogue, adding that they were gathered by Gonzales Carvajal.

J. C. B.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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TURGENEFF.

Turgeneff was the youngest of three very distinguished brothers. Were the eldest of the trio now living he would be almost a centenarian. He remembered Bonaparte, Bernardin, St. Pierre, Talleyrand, Sir Walter Scott—of whom he was for some weeks a guest at Abbotsford—Miss Edgeworth, when she was in the zenith of her fame, visited Madame de Staël at Coppet, and fell in with Byron as he was making a tour on the Rhine. The eldest Turgeneff was a many-sided man, though not a professional author. He had great literary qualities. His political insight and sagacity were no less remarkable, and he had a wider experience of human nature than perhaps any other European of his time. Though he belonged to a family which stood well with the court and high in the administration, he enjoyed close intercourse with his "unmasked countrymen." His education was French on Russian soil. Voltaire and Diderot were his early schoolmasters. When he grew up he made wide incursions into English literature, and came to the conclusion that Maria Edgeworth had struck the vein which most of the great novelists of the future would exclusively work. She took the world as she found it, and selected from it the material that she thought would be interesting to write about, in a clear and natural style. It was Ivan Turgeneff himself who told me this, and he modestly said that he was an unconscious disciple of Miss Edgeworth in setting out on his literary career. He had not the advantage of knowing English, but as a youth he used to hear his brother translate to visitors at his country house in the Uralian hills passages from "Irish Tales and Sketches," which he thought superior to her three-volume novels. Turgeneff also said to me, "It is possible, nay probable, that if Maria Edgeworth had not written about the poor Irish of the county Longford, and the squires and squireens, that it would not have occurred to me to give a literary form to my impressions about the parallel classes in Russia. My brother used, in pointing out the beauties of her unambitious works, to call attention to their extreme simplicity and to the distinction with which she treated the simple ones of the earth."—*London Daily News*.

## NOTES

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAITS—The Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in speaking recently before that time-honored institution of his pleasant experiences in France, remarked :

“It is a matter of interest, both historical and artistic, to make note of any portraits of Washington which have not before been described, or perhaps known to exist. During my late absence, I passed two delightful days with our honorary member, the Marquis de Rochambeau, at his chateau, near Vendôme. In one of his salons I found many relics of the old marquis, or count, as he then was, of Yorktown memory. The sword which he wore in America, his badge as an honorary member of the Cincinnati, his baton as a Marshal of France, with all his orders and decorations, were arranged in a glass case for preservation and display; while a large number of family portraits, including, of course, one of himself, were hung upon the walls. On pedestals, in the corners or at the sides, there were two beautifully wrought miniature cannon, inscribed as having been presented to the widow of the old marquis by Louis XVIII., to take the place of the two British cannon which Washington had presented to Rochambeau after our victory at Yorktown, and which had been seized, and probably recast, during the French Revolution. Being shown to my chamber, I found that the room in which the old marquis slept had been assigned to me, with the original state bed and much of the antique furniture. On the table reposed the manuscript memoirs of the marquis,

just as he had left them, and just as published, beginning as follows : ‘Manuscript Memoirs, political and military, of Marshal de Rochambeau, written with his own hand.’ They were, of course, written in French, but the following translation of the first paragraph will serve to show the noble spirit which dictated them :—

“‘Truth should be the basis of history. I am to write only that which I have seen, or known as certain. There will be found some gaps in the pictures I have drawn of the four grand wars in which I have had a part in the course of my life. I preferred to be silent rather than hazard anything against that first principle of truth and of fidelity from which no one should ever depart who writes for posterity.’

“Meantime, between the two windows, there was a large portrait which could not be mistaken. It was one of Peale’s original portraits of Washington, which Washington himself had presented to Rochambeau. It was not a full-length portrait, like that in the possession of Lord Albemarle, of which we have a copy in our gallery, but was, I think, substantially the same picture down to the knees—a large square or three-quarters portrait, in military costume, and with a cannon and other military emblems in the background. It was in perfect preservation, and is worthy of being included among the most notable of the numberless portraits of the Father of his Country.”

THE BOOKSELLERS’ DINNER—Mr. William A. Keese, in his interesting bio-



graphical memoir of John Keese, wit and littérateur, says: "I have preserved a record of a booksellers' dinner—a complimentary entertainment by the booksellers of New York to authors and other literary and distinguished men—given at the City Hotel, March 30, 1837. David Felt presided on the occasion, assisted by Fletcher Harper and others as vice-presidents; George Dearborn, a well known publisher, officiated as master-of-ceremonies, and John Keese as toast-master. Among the entertainers and guests were Albert Gallatin, Chancellor Kent, Colonel Trumbull, Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, Fitz Greene Halleck, Rev. Orville Dewey, James K. Paulding, William L. Stone, Harrison Gray, James Harper, Charles King, Major Noah, Philip Hone, John W. Francis, Lewis Gaylord Clarke, George P. Morris, Edgar A. Poe, Richard Adams Locke, George P. Putnam, Henry Inman, J. G. Chapman, and many others.

"The opening address, previous to introducing the regular toasts, was delivered by Mr. Keese. The speech of the evening in weight and importance was from William L. Stone, then senior of the editorial corps in New York City. A vein of scholarly erudition ran through it, and occasional touches of sprightly and fanciful humor. There were speeches by Harrison Gray, James Harper, Charles King, Major Noah, Matthew L. Davis, Chancellor Kent, Philip Hone, John W. Francis, Washington Irving, and James K. Paulding. Some of the toasts and sentiments were as follows:

"From Noah Webster: 'May booksellers honorably rival each other in the sale of good books, and may good books find or make good readers.'

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"From Fletcher Harper: 'Booksellers—generous individuals, who kindly assist authors to obtain an immortality in which they themselves do not participate.'

"From John Keese: 'The memory of Cadmus, the first postboy. He carried letters from Phœnicia to Greece.'"

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ANCESTOR OF THE JAYNE FAMILY—  
The oldest stone in the ancient burial place of Setauket was erected in 1714 to the memory of the common ancestor of the Jayne family of Long Island. The following is a copy of the inscription:

Here lyes y<sup>e</sup> Body of  
WILLIAM JAYNE  
born at Bristol, England  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1618  
Dec<sup>d</sup> March 24<sup>th</sup> 1714  
Æ. 96.

W. K.

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PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS—According to the *Athenæum* of last April, Mrs. Herbert Jones has discovered the original portrait of this Virginian princess, from which De Passe's engraving was taken.

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THE FIRST CANADIAN NEWSPAPER—Mr. Alexander Lawson of the Yarmouth (N. S.) *Herald*, has finally settled the question of the establishment of the first newspaper in Canada. He thus relates his discovery: "On my passage from Yarmouth to Boston, in the *New Brunswick*, I had the pleasure of an introduction to Mr. Henry J. Morgan, of the Department of State, Ottawa, and editor of *The Dominion Annual Register and Review*. Our conversation naturally drifted into the subject of Nova Scotia

newspapers. Referring to the early journals of the province, Mr. Morgan stated that a Halifax gentleman had informed him that he saw in the Legislative Library in the State House, Boston, a copy of a Halifax paper published in 1753, under the title (as Mr. M. understood) of the *Mercury*. As this date was only four years after the settlement of Halifax, I thought there must be some mistake. After a diligent but vain search in the library above named, for ancient Nova Scotia newspapers, and in the office of the Secretary of State (in the same building), Mr. Tillinghurst

gave me a note of introduction to the Hon. Samuel Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Tremont street. Mr. Green was absent, but a gentleman to whom I made known the object of my visit in a few seconds brought from an alcove a bound volume of old Nova Scotia papers dating as far back as 1752. The first paper in the collection was No. 1 of the *Halifax Gazette*, dated March 23d, 1752, 'printed by John Bushnell, at the Printing Office in Grafton street.' The paper is about 10 by 15 inches in size, printed in one leaf of two pages, two broad columns to a page."—*Ottawa Daily Citizen*.

### QUERIES

TO THE EDITOR: Will some one give me the authority for the story that the First Number of Paine's *Crisis*, dated December 23, 1776, was read at the heads of the regiments forming the American Army, then under Washington's immediate command? And that the opening sentence, "These are the times that try men's souls," formed the Battle Cry or Watchword with which those regiments went into action at Trenton and Princeton? And whether, also, the story is true or not? Respectfully,

W. E. F.

AUGUST 20, 1883.

I HAVE an old clock, on the face of which is inscribed, "Nathan Hale." Can any one tell me who was this Nathan Hale, where he lived, and when he carried on business?

A. A. F.

MID-LENT—Which is the correct day on which to celebrate mi-carême (mid-lent), Wednesday or Thursday?

REDWOOD.

NEWPORT, Sept. 3, 1883.

SAMBO—An advertisement in the N. Y. *Evening Post* of December 23, 1811, describing a runaway slave, states that he is "a black boy, named Joab, aged 14, short for his age, small limbed, and very short fingers; is well made, and has likely features, of a yellow complexion (being a sambo)."

What is the origin of the term "Sambo?"

MINTO.

THE FIRST PULPIT IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH NEW YORK—Its builder was James Styles, great grandfather of Mr. S. M. Styles of this city, who came from England in a privateer about the time of the old French and Indian war. During the Revolutionary war he retired to Esopus with his family. A brother from England came to hunt him up, but he had become too much of an American patriot to return. What *became* of that original pulpit of this noble old church?

W. H.

## REPLIES

PETER FORCE [x. 260]—The person referred to (Philadelphia Directory, 1796) was not the father of Peter Force, of Washington. The editor of *The American Archives* was the son of William Force, of New Jersey, and grandson of Manning Force, of New Jersey. S.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CANADA [x. 72]—The name "Canada" has been remarkably mistaken by those who have tried to explain it, from Charlevoix downward. It is a geographical word, meaning "promontory." The Spaniards, landing at Gaspé, asked of the few natives they saw the name of that ground, and were answered *Nada*. It is one of the hundred Keltic nomenclatures written all over the eastern shores of this continent. It is the Welsh *nod*, the Irish *nada*, signifying "point" or cape, and is, in fact, the word, Neddock, written on a point in Maine, and to be found elsewhere.

As for Gaspé, it is another prehistoric name for point, *cuspe*, etc., etc.; as may be seen in Cassiope, the Corfu cape, in *Ichpe-tonga*, the old Indian headland I am now writing from, and in other places. Those Gaspers, when first spoken to, very probably mentioned Gaspé as well as Nada, though their visitors did not catch it. Proofs of this explanation are to be especially found in an early map bearing the name of Sebastian Cabot, where the Gaspé shore of the St. Lawrence is marked, *onoceda*, in little letters; while on Mercator's map of 1569 the place is written, *kuneda*.

There need be no doubt about Nada, I should think. It only wanted the as-

pirate to be the word we use at present. This cape-name was continued up to the Cataract, along the other *nadas* or *neddoks* of the St. Lawrence. W. D.

BROOKLYN

"THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN OF THE REVOLUTION" [viii. 49]—We are told by S. Benson MacGown, Esq., the aged citizen of New York, to whose letter published in this Magazine, January, 1882, reference is here made, that this famous tavern was situated but a few rods from his father's house, on "MacGown Hill." That house—in which Mr. MacGown was born and passed his boyhood—stood on the site of the former Refectory Building, consumed by fire about two years ago. It was on the southeast side of the then Post road, standing back about a hundred feet, and nearly opposite the present 105th street. The *natura loci* was romantic, and scattered around the old tavern were black walnut, chestnut, and wild cherry trees, with a large apple-orchard in the rear, the lot running down to the brook at the bottom of the ravine. The building was two-storied in front, with thick stone walls and a low, sloping back roof. It had two good-sized front rooms, separated by a hall, and a swinging sign before the house, having a black horse painted thereon. A small wooden blacksmith's shop on one side was also a familiar object to Mr. MacGown's boyhood. Of all now living, he only is able to remember and describe the exact position and local surroundings of the original Black Horse tavern. His earliest recollection reaches to LEGGETT,

the landlord, whose name it bears in Christopher Colles' "Survey of Roads," published in 1789—a very valuable historical and unique work. Then came Keeler, and last, Wheat, after which it was in a ruinous and deserted condition, and soon fell a prey to the flames at the hand of some worthless tramp of the time, and of its stones, removed for other uses, not one is left to mark the spot. Having stood there so many years before, during, and after the Revolution, this noted tavern must have had many various, and some rough experiences. Our venerable informant, still vigorous in memory as in physique, furnishes from his father, the reminiscence that once during the war, when some patriotic Harlemites, and a few Tories of an odiously demonstrative type, were together at the Black Horse, then regarded as a sort of neutral ground, one of the latter, with a glass at his lips, loudly proposed as a toast: "Success to King George and his troops!" but which, before he had time to drink, was dashed in pieces at his feet by the butt end of a teamster's whip, and a fight probably succeeded, of which, however, we have no report.

Laurence Benson, a large property holder and a kinsman of Mr. MacGown, in 1828, sold the Black Horse lot to Price and Wiswall, when they bought all Harlem Common—about 800 acres, more or less. Hon. David Dudley Field was their legal agent. They sold it in various parcels before its purchase by the Park Commissioners. The Central Park now covers nearly all the orchard lot also, of this ancient hostelry, which embraced a part of the area of the northern pond.

WILLIAM HALL

NEW YORK, September 15, 1883

HISTORICAL ERRORS [ix. 472]—  
"Ford's Formula" is certainly convenient, but is not strictly accurate. As corrected by him (x. 73) it is accurate for dates in the nineteenth century, but for no others. Tested by the perpetual calendar in the Book of Common Prayer (of which it is only a modification), it fails for all dates except as stated above. For instance, the five supposed errors pointed out by Mr. Ford in dates of the eighteenth century were in fact not errors, but the dates given in the Magazine were correct, and Mr. Ford's dates, with one exception, were each one day too early; that is, the days of the week, as given by him, were each one day too early for the days of the month. The exception referred to is in the date (as corrected x. 73) of *Friday*, January 6, 1776, which is two days too early. The rule is that Mr. Ford's dates for the eighteenth century will be in error by *one* day for all common years, and by *two* days for the months of January and February in all leap years. For the seventeenth century the errors will be respectively *two* and *four* days; for the sixteenth, *three* and *six* days, etc. For the centuries subsequent to the nineteenth the errors will be similar, except that the dates will then be too late. The calendar is a copy of one used by my father for forty years or more, and was copied by him from one still older. It is evidently the same as the prayer-book calendar, but differently arranged, so as to eliminate all calculations and all chances of error.

The note at the bottom is taken from the prayer-book calendar.

B. D. CROCKET

SAN AUGUSTINE, Texas, July 20, 1883

# PERPETUAL ALMANAC.

*Directions.*—Look at the top for the century; then to the right or the left for the odd year; and in a line with that, directly under the century, is the Dominical Letter for the year. Under the given Dominical Letter in the lower part of the table, find the day of the week, and in a line with that, in the calendar, is the day of the month.

Centuries.				Odd Years.			
2000	2100	2200	2300	1600	1700	1800	1900
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F
E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E
D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D
C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B

(N.B.)—Every Leap Year has two Dominical Letters; the latter only is designated in this table, as the first serves only to the close of February: *e.g.*, 1848 has B and A. At the beginning of every century, Leap Year is omitted, except every fourth century—1600, 2000, etc., being leap years, and the intervening three centuries exempt from the common rule.

## DOMINICAL LETTERS.

Jan. 31 Oct. 31		Feb. 28 Mar. 31 Nov. 30		April 30		May 31		A		B		C		D		E		F		G		June 30		July 31		August 31		September 30 December 31					
1	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	S	Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	Tu	Mon	4	11	18	25	2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	31
2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	Mon	S	Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	Tu	5	12	19	26	3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	
3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	Tu	Mon	S	Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	6	13	20	27	4	11	18	25	1	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	
4	11	18	25		8	15	22	29	Wed	Mon	S	Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	7	14	21	28	5	12	19	26	2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	
5	12	19	26		9	16	23	30	Th	Wed	Tu	Mon	S	Sat	Fr	8	15	22	29	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	
6	13	20	27		10	17	24	31	Fr	Th	Wed	Tu	Mon	S	Sat	9	16	23	30	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	5	12	19	26		
7	14	21	28		11	18	25		Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	Tu	Mon	S	10	17	24	31	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	6	13	20	27		
8	15	22	29		12	19	26									11	18	25		9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	7	14	21	28		
9	16	23	30		1	8	15	22	S	Sat	Fr	Th	Wed	Tu	Mon	12	19	26		10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	8	15	22	29		
10	17	24	31		2	9	16	23								1	8	15	22	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	9	16	23	30		
11	18	25			3	10	17	24								2	9	16	23	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	10	17	24	31		
12	19	26			4	11	18	25								3	10	17	24	11	18	25		8	15	22	29	11	18	25			
13	20	27			5	12	19	26								4	11	18	25	12	19	26		9	16	23	30	12	19	26			
14	21	28			6	13	20	27								5	12	19	26	1	8	15	22	9	16	23	30	13	20	27			
15	22	29			7	14	21	28								6	13	20	27	2	9	16	23	10	17	24	31	14	21	28			
16	23	30			8	15	22	29								7	14	21	28	3	10	17	24	11	18	25		15	22	29			
17	24	31			9	16	23	30								8	15	22	29	4	11	18	25	10	17	24	31	16	23	30			
18	25				10	17	24	31								9	16	23	30	5	12	19	26	11	18	25		17	24	31			
19	26				11	18	25									10	17	24	31	6	13	20	27	12	19	26		18	25				
20	27				12	19	26									11	18	25		13	20	27		13	20	27		19	26				
21	28				1	8	15	22								12	19	26		14	21	28		14	21	28		20	27				
22	29				2	9	16	23								1	8	15	22	15	22	29		15	22	29		21	28				
23	30				3	10	17	24								2	9	16	23	16	23	30		16	23	30		22	29				
24	31				4	11	18	25								3	10	17	24	17	24	31		17	24	31		23	30				
25					5	12	19	26								4	11	18	25	18	25			18	25		24	31					
26					6	13	20	27								5	12	19	26	19	26			19	26		25						
27					7	14	21	28								6	13	20	27	20	27			20	27		26						
28					8	15	22	29								7	14	21	28	21	28			21	28		27						
29					9	16	23	30								8	15	22	29	22	29			22	29		28						
30					10	17	24	31								9	16	23	30	23	30			23	30		29						
31					11	18	25									10	17	24	31	24	31			24	31		30						
32					12	19	26									11	18	25		25				25				31					
33					1	8	15	22								12	19	26		26				26									
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## BOOK NOTICES

VIRGINIA. A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE. BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE. (American Commonwealths. Edited by Horace E. Scudder.) 1 vol. 16mo, pp. 523. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1883.

The first of the new series of companion volumes to the "American Statesmen" and "American Men of Letters," entitled "American Commonwealths," does great credit to the taste and judgment of both editor and publisher. The work is from the pen of one of Virginia's sons, the brilliant and popular writer, John Esten Cooke. It is a rapid and forcible sketch of the people of a great State—one which had a marked influence upon the structure of the nation. The author gives evidence of having made the whole subject in all its features a rigid, careful, and conscientious study; and his familiarity with localities has aided him in giving those charming touches of the picturesque and romantic in historical narrative which never fail to captivate the reader. The early Virginia Indians seem to step out of the dim past under his graphic description and stand before us in the flesh:—"Tall in person, vigorous, stoical, enduring pain without a murmur; slow in maturing revenge, but swift to strike; worshipping the lightning and thunder as the flash of the eyes and the hoarse voice of their unseen god; without pity; passionately fond of hunting and war; children of the woods, with all the primitive impulses; loving little, hating inveterately; a strange people, which, on the plains of the West to-day, are not unlike what they were in Virginia nearly three centuries ago. The old chronicles, with the rude pictures, give us their portraits. We may fancy them going to war in their puccoon paint, paddling swiftly in their log canoes on the tidewater rivers; dancing and yelling at their festivals; creeping stealthily through the woods to attack the English; darting quickly by the shadowy temple of Uttamussac in the woods of the York, and shrinking with terror as the voice of Okee roars in the thunder."

Mr. Cooke restores to us the much-buried story of Pocahontas, and invests it with fresh fascinations. The father of this lovely and somewhat mythical heroine, the Emperor Powhatan, ruled over thirty tribes, scattered over a territory embracing eight thousand square miles. He was a man of ability, both in war and peace; greatly feared by his subjects, and holding the state of a king.

"The First American Assembly," "The Maids and first Slaves," "The First Virginia Authors," "The Great Rebellion" of 1676, "Bacon and Berkeley at James City," and the "Tubal Cain of Virginia," are all vivid pieces of writing, and re-

veal the skill and power of the literary artist. The author tells us:—"Just before Spotswood's arrival the worshipful justice Shallows of Princess Anne county, had directed the *proper tests* to be applied to a certain Grace Sherwood, to ascertain whether she were not a *witch*. So the tests were duly applied by a jury of old women, who found the ambiguous verdict that she was 'not like *them*,' and poor Grace was 'put into water' to drown, when she disappointed them by swimming. Thereat their worships, shaking their wise heads, ordered her to be secured in jail, by irons or otherwise; and the poor witch went away, weeping no doubt, to endure her punishment. This grotesque scene occurred in 1705; and the spot where the only Virginia witch was *put into water* is still known as the 'Witch Duck.'" The material conditions of the growth of Virginia, religious, political, and civil, have not been overlooked; and many fresh subjects of interest are brought into notice. The work is excellent; it is as desirable to know what manner of men inhabited old Virginia, as to study the characteristics of the Puritans of New England, and Mr. Cooke's contribution to historical information will prove most acceptable.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF OUR CIVIL WAR. BY THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, U. S. A. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 346. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 1883.

This work is one of exceptional breadth and power. The author has possessed himself completely with his subject, and endeavored to give a clear and concise outline of the late civil war as a military whole, for the benefit of laymen, and of coming generations, making no pretense to detailed history, and without the slightest apparent aspiration for prominence in discussing the political questions and asperities of the period. Any writer who can thus control himself and his opinions is qualified for the production of something of permanent value. And the advantage of brevity for the young reader—or for any reader in this busy age who wishes to become familiar with generalities—is obviously very great. The book fills a special want in the literature of the civil war, and will be prized as it deserves. The author, in his preface says: "While holding the conviction that the cause of the North was right, I yield to no Southerner in my admiration of the splendid gallantry of our old enemy, now our brother; and I believe that no one will accuse me of intentional partiality in my narration of events." The student of military history will find the beautiful volume a massive and marvelously valuable skeleton, which he can readily clothe from the standard

histories. The important operations of the war have received all due attention. Maps and charts, forty-five in number, supplement descriptions; and a glossary and index aid the scholar in his researches. It is a book which the general reader will find interesting from the first page to the last. A fair specimen of the style of the work may be found in the tribute which the author pays to General McClellan, in his eleventh chapter. He writes:—"Our attention is now due to the Army of the Potomac. Since McClellan had been in command the army had grown rapidly in discipline and efficiency. As an organizer McClellan was in his element. Few have ever done more substantial work than he; and well did the Army of the Potomac testify to his ability in its subsequent campaigns." Then, after recounting the movements and events of the next three weeks, he writes: "There was good ground for thinking the prospect brighter than ever before, when suddenly McClellan was relieved, and Burnside appointed to command." Quoting from Palfrey, he continues: "'While the Confederacy was young, and fresh, and rich, and its armies were numerous, McClellan fought a good, wary, damaging, respectable fight against it. . . . He was an excellent strategist, and in many respects an excellent soldier. He did not use his own troops with sufficient promptness, thoroughness and vigor to achieve great and decisive results, but he was oftener successful than unsuccessful with them, and he so conducted affairs that they never suffered severely without inflicting heavy loss upon their adversaries.'"

#### JOHN KEESE, WIT AND LITTERATEUR

—A Biographical Memoir. By WILLIAM L. KEESE. I vol. 8vo, pp. 96. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1883.

Charmingly readable is this little volume of reminiscences and anecdotes, touching many well-known New Yorkers of thirty and forty years ago. John Keese was a popular book-auctioneer, whose witticisms were the delight of the community. His name was identified with many important literary undertakings, and his intimate associates were among the book-men and men of letters of the time in which he lived. He possessed a remarkable memory, his perception was acute, he was full of invention, and eminently companionable. His familiarity with the contents and value of every published book enabled him to manage a sale in the most natural and easy manner, and his flashes of humor were like the play of the sunshine. We are told how on one occasion some prayer-books were selling, and the late Mr. Gowans, who was present, interrupted (as was his wont) the rapid vocalization with, "Are they in English?" The quick retort was, "Of course they are. Do you suppose a man is going to pray in Irish?" A

joke much relished by the book-binding fraternity was his likening a ledger to Austria, because it was backed and cornered by Russia; and when it was knocked down to a Mr. Owen Phalen, he exclaimed, "Don't know about selling to a man who is always Owen and Phalen." "Give the gentleman his book," he said when an impatient buyer of Watts' Hymns disturbed the sale by clamoring for delivery—"he wishes to learn and sing one of the hymns before he goes to bed to-night." "There was no quarter at the battle of Waterloo, my dear sir," he cried, to a bidder of twenty-five cents for a narrative of that conflict; and on another occasion, he introduced a volume of impossible verse with—"This is a book" (glancing at the biographical sketch) "by a poor and pious girl—who wrote poor and pious poetry."

A fine steel portrait of its subject is the frontispiece to the well written and entertaining volume.

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES BIDDLE

DLE, Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 1745-1821, (privately printed). I vol. 8vo, pp. 423. Philadelphia: E. Claxton and Company. 1883.

This work covers a most interesting period, that of the American Revolution and the early days of the Republic. Charles Biddle was chosen in October, 1785, Vice-president of the Council of Pennsylvania—the same year that Dr. Franklin arrived from France, to be received with exceptional honors by his fellow citizens, and chosen President of the Council.

The manuscript of this autobiography, in possession of Judge Craig Biddle, has been printed exactly as written, with no attempt to embellish its natural, easy, and simple style. It is the story of an active life from boyhood to old age, with sketches and anecdotes of prominent men and events of his time. Original letters are appended from Burr, Wilkinson, and Truxton, which never before appeared in print. Notes, occupying sixty-two pages, are devoted to family history, the material having been obtained from the most authentic sources. The volume is well printed in clear, handsome type, is readable throughout, and is a valuable contribution to biographical and historical literature.

#### THE GENEALOGY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE WALDOS OF AMERICA

FROM 1650 TO 1883. COMPILED BY JOSEPH D. HALL, JR. I vol. 12mo, pp. 127. Press of Scofield & Hamilton, Danielsonville, Conn. 1883.

This genealogical work has been compiled from town and private records, and from papers

carefully collected by the late Judge Loren P. Waldo, of Hartford, Conn.; Charles E. Waldo, of Canon City, Col.; and Mrs. S. G. Waters, of East Randolph, Vermont.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A NAVAL OFFICER,  
—1841-1865. BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM HAR-  
WAR PARKER. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 372.  
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1883.

The author of this interesting volume is a master of the art of story-telling, and takes complete possession of the reader from the beginning—whom he releases only when he has reached the termination of his career as a naval officer, in 1865. His initial paragraph is suggestive of the treat in store for the lover of whatever relates to "life on the ocean wave." He writes—"We are told, that when Mr. Toots attempted to write an acrostic to Florence Dombey, he carefully prepared the first letters of the lines, and then never got farther than 'For when I gaze'; and I must confess that in commencing these recollections, I feel somewhat in the same predicament, so I think it best to plunge at once *in medias res*, and say that I entered the U. S. Navy as a midshipman, on the 19th day of October, 1841, being then fourteen years of age. I was almost immediately ordered to the U. S. ship *North Carolina*, and on the 27th day of the same month, reported for duty to Commodore M. C. Perry, then commanding the station at New York. I well remember my extreme surprise at being addressed as *Mr.* by the commodore, and being recalled to my senses by the sharp *William* of my father, who accompanied me to the Navy Yard."

Captain Parker then proceeds, without further introduction, to describe his early experiences as a midshipman, and the pranks of his comrades, while he was learning the lessons of the situation. His first cruise was replete with incident, and the narrative increases in attractive interest with every page. He visited Europe and South America; he was in a Brazilian port when Dom Pedro, the present Emperor of Brazil, was married to a sister of the King of Naples in 1843. The bride was brought over in a Brazilian frigate, escorted by a Neapolitan squadron, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, and ten frigates. He says: "There being a very large number of men-of-war of all nations in port at the time, the firing of salutes exceeded anything I have ever heard. It was kept up for a week, and we all became so accustomed to it, that one morning at sunrise a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from our lower gun-deck, and it did not wake the midshipmen who were sleeping on the deck directly under."

But readable and entertaining as are these first chapters, the chief force of the work centers about the scenes and events of the Mexican war, and of our late civil war. The descriptions of

the opening of the bombardment of Vera Cruz, and of its surrender, are effective passages of historical writing. In 1860 the author was an instructor of seamanship and naval tactics in the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Soon after the civil war was inaugurated he repaired to Richmond, and was commissioned a lieutenant in the Confederate navy. Henceforward his pictures are painted from the Southern outlook. His graphic description of the sinking of the *Cumberland*, in which battle he participated, and of the extravagant notions concerning the *Merrimac* which prevailed both at the North and the South will be regarded with special interest. He observes that it is difficult to make any one at the present day understand what absurd and ridiculous men-of-war the Southern gun-boats really were. "The magazine and boiler being above the water-line, and the hull of one-fourth inch iron, or one inch planking, a man serving in one of them stood a chance of death in four forms;" etc. The author was also an eye witness of the celebrated fight between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*—the first encounter between iron-clads in the world's history. He gives us information concerning the plan for boarding and smothering the *Monitor*; the blowing up of the *Merrimac*; the seven days' fighting around Richmond; the surrender of the *Mercedita*; the condition of Charleston at the time; the sinking of the *Koosuk*; the torpedo expedition; the battles in the Wilderness; the *Albermarle* and her engagements; the evacuation of Richmond; General Stoneman at Salisbury; and Johnston's and Sherman's armistice. The closing chapter of the book recounts the author's interview with Jefferson Davis, and some of the final occurrences of the memorable conflict.

#### THE EARLY HISTORY OF LAND- HOLDING AMONG THE GERMANS.

BY DENMAN W. ROSS, PH.D. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 274. Boston: Soule and Bugbee, 1883.

This scholarly volume, the result of elaborate research among the records of early German life—which was pastoral rather than agricultural, that is, its wealth and means of subsistence lay chiefly in live-stock and pasture ground—contains much interesting information on a somewhat obscure subject. The first half of the work is in the form of an essay by the author; the remaining portion is devoted to notes and references of exceptional value, together with a list of authors and works relating to the subject, occupying some twelve pages. The aim of the author has been to consider the primitive clan system of the Germans and its growth and decay, without touching the history of land-holding under the feudal system, or that of agricultural communities outside of it. We commend the work to all who are seeking light on the subject.